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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 21, 1 NOVEMBER 1986

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16 JANUARY 1987

## CHINA REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

#### RED FLAG

No 21, 1 NOVEMBER 1986

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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## THE CRUX IS TO VIGOROUSLY GRASP IMPLEMENTATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization," which was adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, will inevitably exert a far-reaching influence on the building of the two civilizations in China. The crux at present is to vigorously grasp implementation.

It is necessary to grasp the study of the document. In accordance with the principle of combining Marxism-Leninism with China's realities, this document gives correct answers to a series of fundamental questions existing in the people's understanding and our practical work. It has not only adhered to but also developed the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. It makes a correct and brilliant exposition on the strategic position, basic policy, and fundamental tasks of the building of spiritual civilization, the ways and methods for fulfilling these tasks, the guiding role of Marxism, and the responsibilities of party organizations and party members in building socialist spiritual civilization. The basic guiding principle for building socialist spiritual civilization is that we must ensure our work in this field is capable of pushing forward China's socialist modernization, promoting the all-round reform and the opening to the outside world, and embodying the four basic principles. All party members and the broad masses of cadres, especially the leading cadres above the county level, must conscientiously study and ponder the viewpoint of the document so that they can gain a clear, accurate, and perfect understanding of it and further unify their understanding and thinking. If they do not conscientiously study the document and do not understand its spirit in an all-round way, or even understand it in a wrong way, they will be unable to correctly guide their actions and correctly implement the document.

It is necessary to carry out investigation and study in some major fields and grasp some typical problems around the central task of building spiritual civilization. For example, the problem concerning morality in doing business and the unhealthy tendencies that spread widely in certain professions and trades should be firmly grasped in the coming period. As a matter of fact, the problem concerning morality in doing business exists in all professions

and trades. We must not think that it only exists in the economic departments and grass-roots units. It also exists in party and government organs, information and publication units, and personnel and judicial departments. In press circles, the main problem is opposing false reports and ensuring faithful reports. In the personnel departments, the main problem is working honestly and impartially in using people and in giving out awards and punishments. Practices such as appointing people by favoritism, whipping up factionalism, and establishing relationship network, are all expressions of a lack of morality. "Enforcing the law strictly" should be the standard of morality in our security and judicial work. All professions and trades must pay attention to the problem of morality. In short, we must not merely talk about building spiritual civilization without action. All localities and departments must work out effective plans and measures on the basis of investigation and study and work in a down-to-earth manner so that the problems in our practical work can be solved.

It is necessary to give guidance in light of different kinds of problems and to strengthen supervision and examination. The leading organs at various levels must do a good job in building spiritual civilization in their own units and play an exemplary role. At the same time, they must improve their work style and help the grass-roots organizations grasp well the building of spiritual civilization. Building spiritual civilization is a task for the whole party and the whole society. Once tens of millions of people are mobilized and go into action, the work will be promoted with greater strength. Some cadres at the grass-roots level do not know how to build spiritual civilization. Some of them have paid no attention to this work, while some others have been doing some superficial work and practicing formalism, resulting in a waste of money and manpower and being divorced from the masses. Formalism is extremely harmful. It is necessary to oppose formalism and encourage the spirit of seeking truth from facts and to put an end to the practice of establishing sham models for the inspection of higher leaders. Anyone who establishes sham models should be investigated and held responsible for it. The leading organs at various levels must be responsible for the building of spiritual civilization in the grass-roots units under their administration. They must overcome bureaucratism and, instead of just conveying the spirit of the higher authorities and calling on people to go into action, go deep into the grass roots, study the situation there, and offer concrete guidance, so that this work can be promoted and the spirit of the document can be implemented in grass-roots units. Only thus can they make contributions to the building of spiritual civilization and can they achieve successes and development and make advances in this work.

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## HU YAOBANG GIVES SPEECH IN MEMORY OF YE JIANYING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 3-5

[Speech by Hu Yaobang at a memorial meeting for Comrade Ye Jianying; place and date not given]

[Text] Today we remember, with a very heavy heart and profound grief, Comrade Ye Jianying, a long-tested staunch communist fighter, great proletarian revolutionary, statesman, military strategist, one of the founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and prominent leader who held important party and state leading posts for many years. In the past 50-odd years Comrade Ye Jianying dedicated his life to the Chinese people's liberation cause and socialist construction. One of the prestigious and highly respected founders of the People's Republic of China and an outstanding leader of our party, country, and army, he made great contributions to the Chinese revolution and to national construction during long years of perilous struggle, thus earning the heartfelt love and respect of the whole party and the army and the people of various nationalities of the entire country. His death is a tremendous loss to our party, state, and army.

In his youth Comrade Ye Jianying followed Dr Sun Yat-sen in his democratic revolution. In 1922, when Sun Yat-sen fell into danger as a result of Guangdong warlord Chen Jiongmings rebellion, Comrade Ye Jianying, then commander of a battalion of marines, led his troops to Sun Yat-sen's rescue and valiantly fought the rebel forces. When the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang began to cooperate, he accepted Marxism-Leninism and the stand of the Chinese Communist Party. At the invitation of Liao Zhongkai he helped establish the Whampoa Military Academy and served as deputy director of the faculty department. Afterward he joined the Eastern Expedition on two occasions to suppress Chen Jiongmings, and the Northern Expedition. He was a famous general of the Northern Expedition troops. When Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei successively betrayed the revolution and large numbers of communists were massacred, Comrade Ye Jianying, then the chief of staff of the 4th National Revolutionary Army, joined the Chinese Communist Party without hesitation in July 1927, thus showing himself to be a true revolutionary with strong communist convictions.

On learning of Wang Jingwei's plot to wipe out the troops of Ye Ting and He Long on the eve of the Nanchang Uprising Comrade Ye Jianying sought out

Comrades Ye Ting and He Long--at the risk of his own safety--to discuss countermeasures with them, thereby thwarting Wang Jingwei's plot and doing important work at the start of the Nanchang Uprising. Thereafter Comrade Ye Jianying, together with Comrade Zhang Tailei, led the Guangzhou Uprising. The training regiment and guards regiment led by him became the main force of the uprising. That uprising, together with the Nanchang Uprising and the Autumn Uprising, marked the magnificent start of the second domestic revolutionary war and the founding of the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army.

In early 1931 Comrade Ye Jianying entered the central revolutionary base areas and successively held important Red Army leading posts, thus making major contributions to the construction of the Red Army and the victory of the battle to counter "encirclement and suppression." During the Long March he resolutely protected the unity of the whole party and Army. When Zhang Guotao refused to implement the party Central Committee's policy of marching northward and attempted to split and endanger the party Central Committee, Comrade Ye Jianying, then the chief of staff of the frontline command of the Red Army, saw through Zhang Guotao's plot and immediately reported it to Comrade Mao Zedong. The party Central Committee took correct measures and ensured the Red Army's successful northward march. Comrade Mao Zedong praised Comrade Ye Jianying several times afterward for making an outstanding contribution for the party and the revolution at a crucial moment.

After 1936 Comrade Ye Jianying did a great deal of effective work for the establishment and development of the anti-Japanese national united front. He assisted Comrade Zhou Enlai in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Xian Incident, the second KMT-CPC cooperation, and the joint KMT-CPC efforts to resist the Japanese aggression. After the war of resistance against Japan began, he served as chief of staff of the 8th Route Army and held our party's leading posts successively in Nanjing, Wuhan, and Chongqing. He expounded our party's policies to Kuomintang military officers and personalities of various circles on many occasions and thus effectively expanded our party's influence. In 1941 he returned to Yanan to serve as chief of staff of the Military Commission. He assessed the situation and carefully devised strategies to help Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De direct our Army's operations against the Japanese. In the summer of 1944 he was entrusted by the party Central Committee with issuing important statements successively to Chinese and foreign journalists groups and a U.S. military observers group. The statements reported our Army's operations and battle results in various anti-Japanese democratic base areas behind the enemy lines, forcefully refuted Kuomintang diehards' slander against our Army, and enabled the whole nation and the whole world to know more about the truth of China's war of resistance against Japan.

After V-J Day Comrade Ye Jianying assisted Comrade Zhou Enlai in holding talks and reaching agreement with the Kuomintang on ending the civil war. Later, he served as the CPC representative at the Military Mediation Executive Commission in Beijing. He did extremely arduous work under extraordinarily difficult conditions. He exposed the fact that the Kuomintang authorities, supported by the United States, sabotaged the truce and restarted the civil war. He made wide contacts and united with patriotic democrats and displayed a

proletarian statesman's firmness in upholding principles and flexibility in tactics.

Comrade Ye Jianying participated in the nationwide People's Liberation War led by the party Central Committee. In March 1947, he became secretary of the Rear Areas Committee of the CPS Central Committee in northwestern part of Shanxi and thus provided a powerful backing for the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong in fighting in northern Shaanxi and successfully directing battles across the country. In 1948 he was appointed president of the North China Military and Political College and helped train a large number of military and political personnel for the Army and local organizations. After the peaceful liberation of Beiping [0554 1627] he served as chairman of the Beijing Military Control Committee and the mayor of the city and made important contributions to restoration and development of various undertakings in Beijing. When our Army moved south he directed the campaigns to liberate Guangzhou and Hainan Island.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China Comrade Ye Jianying took charge of the work in the south and central-south regions. The task of suppressing bandits in the south China region was completed under his leadership. In the course of leading the land reform in Guangdong Province he formulated a number of policies according to the principles and policies of the party Central Committee and in line with the actual conditions of Guangdong Province. History proves that those policies were completely correct. In 1954 he returned to Beijing to assume an important leading military post. He was an outstanding military educator and a pioneer of military science research for our Army. He always attached importance to training talented military personnel for our party. After our Army entered a new period of regularization and modernization Comrade Ye Jianying took charge of the whole Army's military training, founded the Academy of Military Sciences, and directed the whole Army to unfold military scientific research. He scientifically summed up our Army's building experience and combat experience, explored the laws of a people's war under modern conditions, and took part in devising correct strategic principles. He also led the formulation of a series of rules and regulations of our Army and organized large-scale joint military exercises. He made an all-round contribution to building our Army into a powerful, modernized, regular, and revolutionary army and to upholding and developing Mao Zedong Military Thought.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution" Comrade Ye Jianying waged indomitable struggles in various forms against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques--in disregard of his own interests and safety. In February 1967 he joined several revolutionaries of the older generation in strongly condemning the crimes of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in creating chaos in the party and the Army, persecuting cadres, and sabotaging production. He even pounded the table when he was denouncing the crimes of Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, and their ilk. The boycott of the "Great Cultural Revolution" by Comrade Ye Jianying and others was slandered as an "adverse February current." In fact, it was not a so-called "adverse February current," but a "favorable February current," as Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun later said. After Lin Biao fled China in September 1971, Ye Jianyang took charge of the day-to-day



work of the Military Commission, in his capacity as its vice chairman, and played an important role in stabilizing the situation in the Army and the country. In August 1973, he was elected vice chairman of the Central Committee at the 1st Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee. He gave his all-out support to Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping when they were successively in charge of the day-to-day work of the party Central Committee and the State Council and joined them in exerting strenuous efforts to resist and correct the wrongs of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

In 1976 Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Mao Zedong died in succession. The Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique stepped up its conspiracy to seize the supreme leadership of the party and state. At the critical moment Comrade Ye Jianying and other comrades of the Political Bureau took resolute measures, based on the opinion of the majority of comrades of the Political Bureau, to smash the counterrevolutionary clique according to the wishes of the party and the people, thus ending the decade-long calamitous "Great Cultural Revolution" and rescuing the party from the danger. Comrade Ye Jianying played a decisive role in the struggle.

After the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique Comrade Ye Jianying, showing great foresight and removing obstacles, insisted on inviting Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and other revolutionaries of the older generation to take charge of the leadership of the party and the state at once. He insisted on reversing the verdict on the "Tiananmen Incident" and redressing all the wrongly and falsely charged cases. In the 5 years between March 1978 and June 1983 he was the chairman of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee. During the new historical period of socialist construction he made magnificent contributions to setting things right in the party's guiding ideology, formulating the correct line and policies at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, instituting reform and opening to the outside world, facilitating socialist modernization, improving democracy and the legal system for the election and appointment of competent people, and promoting the motherland's peaceful reunification.

In January 1979 Comrade Ye Jianying presided over a meeting of the NPC Standing Committee to adopt and issue a "Message to Compatriots in Taiwan." In September 1981 he issued the famous statement that specified the 9-point program for the reunification of the motherland and proposed that talks be held between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang on a reciprocal basis to bring about cooperation for the third time. The program and proposal is producing more and more impact on the reunification of the motherland, which became Comrade Ye Jianying's unfulfilled aspiration.

Comrade Ye Jianying went through the three historical stages of old democratic revolution, new democratic revolution, and socialist revolution and construction. Seeking, obeying, and upholding truth, he continuously advanced along with the tides of history. In struggles against the enemy, inner-party struggles, or all kinds of severe tests he never gave a thought to personal gain or loss and unswervingly upheld the party's principle of safeguarding the interests of the party and the people. With courage and far-sightedness in making careful plans and seeking truth from facts he boldly stepped forward

at crucial historical junctions, making correct decisions and thereby revealing his strong party spirit, extraordinary wit, great revolutionary vision, and supreme military strategy. With the style of a proletarian statesman he took overall interests into account, united comrades, and was magnanimous to the people. Being modest, he demonstrated good democratic style and spirit of self-criticism. He was fond of reading and thinking, studied with perseverance, and possessed extensive knowledge and talent in various fields. He was also a poet. He attached a great importance to modern science and knowledge in general and held intellectuals in great esteem. We should forever emulate Comrade Ye Jianying's noble character and fine style.

In mourning Comrade Ye Jianying, we should learn from his exemplary deeds and carry on his unfinished cause, that is, to build our country into a highly democratic and civilized modern socialist power and unite the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and Overseas Chinese in striving for the grand reunification and unity of the motherland, opposing hegemonism, safeguarding world peace, and seeking progress for mankind.

Eternal glory to Comrade Ye Jianying!

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IN ACCORDANCE WITH WORLD TRENDS AND THE MASSES' DESIRES--COMMEMORATING THE  
120TH BIRTHDAY OF DR SUN YAT-SEN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 6-8

[Article by Qu Wu [1448 2976]]

[Text] In a speech delivered at a gathering to mark the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Dr Sun Yat-sen was a great national hero, a great patriot, and a great pioneer of China's democratic revolution." Dr Sun Yat-sen is worthy of these honors and praises. His immortal contributions have been permanently recorded in history. When I was young, I met Dr Sun Yat-sen three times. These three meetings gave me an unforgettable impression, which continues to light up my life. It can be said that Dr Sun Yat-sen was my first guide and the first person to enlighten me in my revolutionary career.

I first met him in Shanghai in June 1919, 1 and 1/2 months after the outbreak of the May 4th Movement. At that time student representatives from all over the country gathered in Shanghai to hold the first National Students' Congress and to form the National League of Student Unions. As a student representative from Shaanxi, I also went to Shanghai to attend the congress after a rendezvous with the student representatives in Beijing. At the time of the congress, Dr Sun Yat-sen was taking refuge in Shanghai. He met some student representatives and accepted an invitation to speak at the congress. In his speech, he indicated that he enthusiastically supported the May 4th Movement, which was a patriotic movement started by young people. I can still remember the main points of his speech: During the Song Dynasty, Chen Dong and some other students of the imperial academy knelt in front of the imperial palace to petition the emperor. In our times, a patriotic movement has been started by Beijing students. Political corruption has always been the reason students sometimes switch from their studies to involvement in political affairs. In less than a month since 4 May, the student movement has spread to every corner of the country, patriotic feelings have been agitated, people have sworn to save their motherland, and the movement has produced a great impact on society. As a result, the corrupt and stubborn Beijing government has been trying to avoid a head-on collision with them. If this upsurge can persist for a long time, it will produce great and far-reaching results. When the congress was over, I called on Dr Sun Yat-sen at his home. Dr Sun cordially asked me about my upbringing,



my family, the student movement in Xian, and the warlords' bureaucratic rule, and I answered all his questions. After chatting with me for more than an hour, he expressed his hope that after my return to Shaanxi, I would try to introduce young people with lofty ideals to the revolution. Finally, Dr Sun Yat-sen said sincerely: "China's hopes are all placed on young people!"

We met for the second time in Tianjin in December 1924. In November 1924, Dr Sun Yat-sen accepted Feng Yuxiang's invitation to go from Guangdong to visit the north. In his "Declaration on My Northern Trip," he reiterated his anti-imperialist and antiwarlord stand and called for the abrogation of all unequal treaties and the convening of a national assembly as soon as possible. After arriving in Tianjin, because of a resurgence of his liver trouble, he stayed there to receive treatment. I was studying at Beijing University at that time. Dr Sun Yat-sen summoned me to Tianjin to see him. During our meeting, Dr Sun Yat-sen recalled our first meeting in Shanghai and asked me about the student movement in Beijing and the northwest. He said: "At present, the warlords are fighting one another and the people are suffering immeasurably from this. If this goes on for a long time, there will be no end to political corruption in China and the masses will continue to suffer. We must organize a national assembly, which is to be attended by representatives from all provinces, elect a legitimate government which represents the people's opinions, and let the people manage national affairs. This is the only solution." He told me that he was going to select some people with lofty ideals and send them all over the country to disseminate this idea. He asked me to do this for him in Shaanxi as his unofficial representative. Before we parted, he gave me some propaganda material so that I could have something to use in various activities.

We met for the third time in Beijing in mid-February 1925. I had then returned to Beijing to report to Dr Sun after working for a few months, at his instruction, in various parts of Shaanxi. At that point, Dr Sun was seriously ill. Mr Yu Youren [or Yu Yu-jen] and I called on him at his temporary residence in Beijing's Shizi Lane. When our revered Mr Yu introduced me to him, Dr Sun soberly said: "I have known him for a long time. I sent him to Shaanxi." In order not to make him too tired, we left after chatting with him for about a quarter of an hour. That was my last meeting with Dr Sun.

Although I saw Dr Sun a couple of times only and although more than 60 years have passed, his profound and penetrating thinking, his broad-mindedness, and his easy and calm countenance still remain fresh in my memory. He said: "There are things which are in accord with nature, human values, and world trends and which are desired by the masses. If farsighted people can resolutely carry them out, it is impossible for them to fail." (Sun Yat-sen: "Selected Works," Vol 1, p 168) As someone who has personally received his instructions, who has studied his works, and who has reviewed his revolutionary life career, I have found that he was a great revolutionary who "acted in accordance with world trends and the masses' desires."

By holding high the torch of democratic revolution, Dr Sun brought an end to the 2,000-year-old feudal monarchy, founded a democratic republic, and brought

dawn to eastern Asia in the 20th century. Although the 1911 Revolution, which was started under his leadership, did not succeed in ridding China of its status as a semifeudal, semicolonial country, it brought about great social progress. Since then, not even a single reactionary force backed up by the imperialists has been able to establish a feudal monarchy in China, and all such forces have been overthrown and destroyed by the people. The 1911 Revolution meant a great ideological liberation for the Chinese people. Since even the monarchical rule in China, which for several thousand years had been considered sacred and inviolable, had been overthrown, could there still be any reactionary or backward things that must not be touched? This encouraged the Chinese people and the advanced among them to act in a pioneering spirit and to find a way to save the country and enabled them to win victory in the Chinese revolution.

Dr Sun Yat-sen had the courage to carry out reforms. In his attempt to transform China, he wasted much energy and experienced untold setbacks and failures. From the time he joined the revolution, he suffered untold hardships and met with great difficulties. However, he was never disheartened by failure nor retreated in the face of difficulties. He said: "I always work with an indomitable spirit toward the fulfillment of my aspirations. Setbacks can only make me work harder and exert myself further." "To seek radical transformation, I have always started my revolutionary career anew." He kept fighting until he passed away. Shortly after the 1911 Revolution, he took office as president of the provisional government in Nanjing. In less than 3 months, he was able to get rid of old customs and introduce changes, displaying an indomitable spirit and great courage. As president of the country, he issued more than 30 orders on the termination of various corrupt practices, on cleaning up officialdom, on legal, social, and educational reforms, and on industrial development. Although these distinctively revolutionary and democratic orders, which, if implemented, could have made social customs very different and brought about changes, were not implemented smoothly as a result of twists and turns in history, his revolutionary spirit and his courage to carry out reforms inspired his contemporaries and have remained a source of enlightenment for posterity. They are an invaluable part of the Chinese people's spiritual heritage.

During the Opium War, which broke out in 1840, with both small arms and big guns the imperialists forced open China's door. The country, despite its long history, was then in imminent danger of being partitioned. Why was this proud and arrogant "Heavenly Kingdom" bullied in such a way? After freeing themselves from their obsession with old things, many progressive Chinese began to seriously review the situation and tried to find a way to save the country and its people. Dr Sun Yat-sen was one of the pioneers who "looked at the world with open eyes" after Wei Yuan and Lin Zexu. He was born and brought up in Guangdong, which was exposed to Western influence and where people were gathered from all over the world. He visited Europe, the United States, and Japan to observe their social systems. He studied the works of bourgeois thinkers of the Enlightenment period and those of the early socialists and discovered that although immensely superior to the feudal system, the capitalist system has its irremediable defects. Thus, in addition to advocating the establishment of a bourgeois republic, he also

called for the "equalization of land ownership and the control of private capital." His thinking was more progressive than that of his contemporaries.

Dr Sun Yat-sen thought that since the contemporary world was becoming an open world, no country could afford to be in isolation. Thus, he concluded that all countries should open themselves to the world. Before he resigned as president of the provisional government, he systematically studied the problem of economic construction in China and raised a series of suggestions on it. He suggested that provided that country's independence remained intact, it could freely use foreign capital, talented foreigners, and foreign machinery. He was very critical of the pessimistic view of economic construction in China, raising the slogan "overtake." Today, we still have much to learn from many of his sensible proposals.

What is even more valuable is that Dr Sun Yat-sen's thinking develops with the passage of time. In other words, his thinking "is in accord with nature, human values, and world trends and is what the people need." He believed that the times were advancing and the revolutionary trends were developing and that thoughts, feelings and actions must advance together with the times and suit the needs of human value. The greatness of Dr Sun Yat-sen lay in his acting according to the law of social development, daring to discard the outdated formulas, constantly seeking new ideologies and revolutionary paths and eventually developing the Chinese revolutionary practice to a new height. During his remaining years, despite the rumors and sabotages by the imperialists and the obstruction and resistance by the die-hard elements within his party, he welcomed the assistance offered by the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party, accepted the proposals of the Chinese Communist Party regarding the Chinese revolution, resolutely decided to reorganize the KMT, effected the great tripartite revolutionary policy of "alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers" and developed the old Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles, thus completing the most brilliant change in his life. Regarding these, he was very determined and felt duty-bound not to turn back. To some die-hard elements within the KMT who were dissatisfied with the KMT-CPC cooperation, he said in categorical terms "if you continue to disagree with the reorganization and the cooperation with the Communist Party, I shall disband the KMT and join the Communist Party myself." We can say that during Dr Sun Yat-sen's remaining years he had already broken with some of the limitations of being a bourgeois revolutionary and thinker and regarded the communists as his friends and the peasants and workers as a revolutionary force to rely on, so as to continue to push forward the Chinese revolution.

Proceeding from saving the motherland, Dr Sun Yat-sen not only dared to carry out reform but always proposed to safeguard the national unification and oppose national separation, believing that only national unification could make the country prosperous and powerful. In the era of revolutions, he opposed the imperialist efforts to carve up China and regarded the national independence and liberation and the unification of the motherland as his goals of endeavor. He said that the Chinese nation "tends to get unified rather than separated" and that if the imperialists tried to

forcibly separate China, it would be tantamount to doing some heartless and conscienceless things like destroying people's homes or breaking up mothers and children. The Chinese people would "surely fight with their life." ("Complete Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 1, p 223) Following the failure of the 1911 Revolution, a chaotic situation of separatist warlord regimes arose in China. In order to put an end to this kind of chaotic situation, he waged a dauntless struggle. When someone raised a fallacy of dividing China into "several ruling groups of provinces," he sternly refuted it, saying: "This kind of understanding and thinking is extremely ridiculous. They just blindly echoed the views of others." ("Complete Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 9, p 303) He said that tracing back to the Qing, Ming, Yuan, Song, Tang, Sui, and even Han Dynasties, China "has been always unified rather than separated in history." ("Complete Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 9, p 304) Only by putting an end to the separatist situation as soon as possible could China become prosperous and powerful. Otherwise, "China will no longer be prosperous and powerful." He sharply pointed out that "the persons who propose separating China must be careerists." (Ibid., p 304) Unfortunately, this behest of Dr Sun Yat-sen has not yet been realized and Taiwan Province and the China mainland are still in a state of separation. I hope my fellow officers will not forget this unfulfilled wish of Dr Sun Yat-sen.

In a letter to Deng Zeru and to the KMT members in the Southeast Asian countries, Dr Sun Yat-sen said that: "As our generation have made up our minds to personally undertake the tasks of Chinese reform and development, as long as we are alive, even if the seas run dry and rocks crumble, we shall not give up. We shall neither lose heart due to failures nor flinch because of difficulties. So long as we can concentrate our efforts, charge forward vigorously, act according to the trends of world progress and unite all the forces of justice to fight evil, we shall eventually succeed. Even though we might not succeed in our lifetime, we can surely inspire some of the 400 million Chinese people to carry forward our cause. Therefore, we should not feel discouraged." ("Complete Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 3, p 74) Historical development has confirmed Dr Sun Yat-sen's prediction. After his death, the members of the Chinese Communist Party inherited his unfulfilled wish and led the Chinese people to accomplish the democratic revolution. Moreover, they continued to carry out the socialist revolution and construction and built up a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity. Over the last 37 years, even though we have suffered some setbacks, we have finally found a way of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. At present, we are effecting an overall reform and opening up to the outside world, building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations, focusing our attention on the development of productive forces and striving to realize the task of quadrupling the annual gross value of industrial and agricultural output. Our future lies in the reform and our cause is hopeful. We shall surely build up a modern socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy to realize the magnificent ideal of "making China one of the most prosperous and powerful countries in the world, and the Chinese people happy and wealthy" cherished by Dr Sun Yat-sen during his lifetime, so as to console the heroic spirit of Dr Sun Yat-sen as well as those of all the revolutionary martyrs.

## PONDERING OVER THE STRATEGY OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382]]

[Text] Building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization is a great strategic policy of our party. The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," which was adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, has summed up the experiences of grasping the building of both material and spiritual civilizations in the new historical period and defined the guiding policy and opened up a broad path for further strengthening the building of spiritual civilization and ensuring an overall, healthy, and steady development of our socialist modernization drive. It is a historical document imbued with the Marxist spirit of creation.

Culture is an expression of the development and outcome of human civilization. The development of the socialist culture is symbolized by the raising of the level of socialist spiritual civilization. The development of cultural undertakings occupies a very important position in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Therefore, the discussion on the strategy for cultural development, which was carried out some time earlier, was followed with great interest and enthusiasm by the broad masses of cadres and people. At present, it is necessary to carry on this discussion on the basis of studying well the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session. This will help us further clarify the orientation and work out well-conceived plans and appropriate measures for the strategy of cultural development.

Along with the further development of our economy and reform, a trend has appeared in our society that "a slight move in one part may affect the situation as a whole." Thus, we are required to understand and study the question concerning our cultural development from a higher plane of strategy. "Strategy" is itself a military word, referring to overall planning and guidance for a war. Mao Zedong said: "Strategy is a way for us to study the law governing the overall situation of war." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") When we understand the general meaning of the word "strategy" in accordance with this explanation, we can say that strategy is an important and overall plan for the future. At present, when we stress the strategy of cultural development, we mean to work out a

long-term, stable, systematic, and overall plan for the development of our cultural undertakings in accordance with the policy decision of grasping the building of both civilizations.

Recently, Shanghai, Beijing, Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Sichuan, Shaanxi, and Heilongjiang have respectively held meetings to discuss the question of strategy for cultural development. This is a good trend, symbolizing the growth of popular interest in cultural affairs on the vast land of China. It has close relations with the overall structural reform.

The vigorous development of the socialist commodity economy in both the countryside and the cities is a fundamental change in the social economy. The tide of overall reform is now battering at all the old ideological concepts and cultural ideas as well as old habits and traditions that do not suit this development, urging people to seek and establish new ideological concepts and cultural ideas that suit the economic and political reforms. The reflection and study on the strategy for cultural development, which emerged in the wake of the economic development and the tide of reform, are inevitable products of the current stage of social development. The resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session clearly points out: "The overall scheme of China's socialist modernization is: Taking economic development as the key link and resolutely and firmly carrying out the reforms of our economic and political structures and strengthening the building of spiritual civilization, making sure that these aspects of work are coordinated and promote each other." Looking at the position and role of the cultural development in the overall structural reform from the high plane of this overall scheme, we can easily understand that the development of the reform of the economic structure requires a corresponding change in the people's mental attitude, cultural quality, and social psychological status, otherwise both the economic and political reforms cannot be carried out in depth. A host of facts in our real life tell us that those which affect the progress of reform are usually not economic factors but old ideological concepts, cultural ideas, and work style. Just as Comrade Zhao Ziyang said: "Traditional ideas, the force of habit, and bureaucratism are the obstacles for reform." Without political and cultural reforms, the economic reform cannot advance in big strides, and we may even lose the achievements we have already made.

To determine the strategic target for China's economic development, we must also have a suitable strategic target for our cultural development, so that both cultural and political affairs and both cultural and economic affairs can develop harmoniously. If we only have the strategy for economic development without the strategy for cultural development, our society will certainly be unbalanced. In his later years, Lenin tried to shift the focus of work to cultural construction. He said: "I would be prepared to say that the focus of work should be shifted to cultural work, if not for our international relations and the fact that we have to fight for our position on a world scale." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 687) Of course, this does not mean that cultural work can challenge or replace the important position of economic construction. It only means that both must be promoted and developed simultaneously. What Lenin said had a profound meaning, which



merits our careful consideration. In 1907, that is, 79 years ago, Mr Lu Xun wrote "A Course in the History of Science." When talking about the relationship between science and cultural life, he made a profound exposition on the serious consequences of neglecting cultural life, such as the imbalance in society. In this article he said: "There is something that should not be ignored, that is, to prevent the imbalance and bankruptcy of our society due to the neglect of cultural life. If people do not pay attention to their cultural life, their life will finally wither, together with their wits and feelings. Then the so-called science will just be nothing at all." ("Complete Works of Lu Xun," Vol 1, p 35) What Lu Xun said shows that in order to maintain balance and harmony in our society, we need both materials and spirit. As to spiritual civilization, we need both science and literature and art. We must have both natural scientists and social scientists, both philosophers and artists. Lu Xun held that a society needs both Newton and Shakespeare, both Boyle and Raffaello, both Kant and Beethoven, and both Darwin and Carlyle. Otherwise, the society will become "unbalanced," and human life will "wither." This is a brilliant exposition which is of great help to us in pondering the strategy for cultural development today.

In the new situation of reform and opening up, with the continuous improvement of the people's material life, cultural quality, and cultural life, and the increase of the level of civilization, the cultural and psychological structure of the society will also change. If the cultural level, which is needed by the spiritual life, is not raised, psychological balance will also be destroyed. Once a man's psychological balance is destroyed, he can easily take to evil ways and become a negative factor to the stability of society. For example, when the problems of food and clothing are solved in the countryside, if there is no normal cultural life, some evil practices such as gambling and feudalist superstitious activities can easily appear. In some areas, due to insufficiently wholesome cultural life, mass gambling is becoming more and more serious, and cases resulting from this, such as larceny, robbery, suicide, and murder, have also frequently appeared. I made an investigation in Hebei's rural areas. There, more than 50 percent of the people belonging to rich and specialized households have been involved in gambling. This shows that it is a pressing task for us to improve the cultural quality of people and to create a good cultural environment for them after their material life is improved. It also tells us that raising the people's understanding of modernization is a strategic demand of our socialist modernization drive.

Society is developed as a whole. The course of socialist modernization is a course of development of the political, economic, and cultural affairs, which coordinate with and promote one another. Without the development of any of the three, there will be no socialist modernization. This is the law of social development. All those who follow this law will surely win, and those who do not will certainly fail. We must gain a full understanding of this law and the strategic position of cultural development in the entire social development so that we can go with the tide of history and ponder and study the strategy for our cultural development in light of our real situation and in accordance with the people's needs and so that we can make economic, political, and cultural affairs develop harmoniously.

When discussing the strategy for our cultural development, we must have a correct guiding ideology. We must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guide and the training of socialist citizens who have ideals, morality, cultural knowledge, and a sense of discipline as our fundamental task. We must deepen our study on the strategy for cultural development and work out a strategy which can suit the situation of reform and opening up and is compatible with the strategy for economic development. In development of socialist culture, we must adhere to the policy of reform and opening up and must look into the future, face the world, and advance toward modernization. The culture of a nation can have endless vitality only when it is treated as an open system and has constant interchanges with the world's culture. Therefore, when we study the strategy for cultural development, we must not only take into consideration the development of cultural undertakings in our country, but also the cultural interchanges in the whole world. Mao Zedong pointed out more than 40 years ago: "To nourish her own culture China needs to assimilate a good deal of foreign progressive culture, not enough of which was done in the past. We should assimilate whatever is useful to use today not only from the present-day socialist and new-democratic cultures but also from the earlier cultures of other nations, for example, from the culture of the various capitalist countries in the Age of Enlightenment." ("On New Democracy") With the spirit of opening up, introducing from abroad, filtering, assimilating, and creating, we must absorb all outstanding achievements of human civilization. In this respect, we must be more courageous and advance at a faster pace. The resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session pointed out clearly: "We should reject the capitalist ideological and social systems that defend oppression and exploitation, and we reject all the ugly and decadent aspects of capitalism. Nevertheless, we should do our utmost to learn from all countries, including the developed capitalist countries, to acquire advanced science and technology, universally applicable expertise in economic management and administrative work and other useful knowledge and to verify and develop in practice what we have learned. Otherwise, we shall remain ignorant and be unable to modernize our own country." Our nation is capable of discarding bad things and assimilating good things, capable of "turning things foreign into our own," and capable of creating a new socialist culture with the spirit of our times and our national flavor.

The strategic target of cultural development is not merely a question of theory, but also a question of practice. All cultural undertakings, including literature and art, information and publication, preservation of cultural relics, libraries, and museums, have their specific and important roles. Thus, we are required to proceed from the reality of our country, where economic and cultural developments are uneven due to the vast territory, and put forth appropriate strategic targets for our cultural development at different stages in the future on the basis of conscientious investigation, so that we can achieve a greater development in our cultural undertakings. But when we consider the strategic targets for cultural development, we must grasp the main aspects of things. When talking about the relationship between the whole and the part in his article entitled "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Mao Zedong pointed out: "The commanding officer at any level should focus on the most important and decisive problem or action



in the whole situation he is handling, and not on other problems or actions." When we are pondering, studying, and working out the strategic targets for our cultural development, we must also pay attention to those problems that have a decisive significance on the development of the cultural undertakings. The strategy for cultural development is a gigantic and systematic project involving many aspects of things. We must pay attention to the core of this project. In my opinion, the core is to improve the cultural quality of the people, to help people acquire new cultural concepts, to build up a cultural contingent, to perfect our cultural policy, to make a rational arrangement of cultural facilities, and to develop the cultural undertakings as a whole.

After the strategic targets are set, we must work out concrete plans for the development of our cultural undertakings, so that these targets can become more concrete and so that we can ensure that they can be realized along with the economic targets. When working out strategic targets and plans, we must make sure that they are scientific, workable, effective, and in conformity with the spirit of opening up. Practice shows that setting strategic targets for development can play an important role. It can mobilize and organize the forces in various fields to fight for the realization of these targets.

While considering and studying the strategic targets for cultural development, we must also consider and study the strategic measures for realizing these targets. These measures are bridges for achieving the strategic targets. Therefore, after the targets are set, we must try to work out the measures. To realize the strategic targets, it is necessary to have a correct theoretical guidance, a good cultural environment, necessary material conditions, and a series of policies, including cultural legislation. It is especially important to work out and perfect our cultural policies, such as the policy of cultural administration, tax policy for cultural undertakings, cultural investment policy, and cultural exchange policy, so that the guiding role of the policies can be brought into full play. Only when we have policies and "law" can we effectively mobilize the initiative of cultural workers, can we promote cultural creation and exchanges, can we promote the self-development of the cultural units, and can we realize the strategic targets for cultural development.

In the new period, the leaders must have the consciousness, foresight, and an idea of strategy. They must overcome the erroneous view of regarding the question of strategy as nothing important to themselves. The question of strategy is a relative one. Compared with the country as a whole, the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions are just the parts, but when compared with prefectures (cities) and counties, they are also the whole. This means that every unit and every area can be a part of the whole and at the same time, the whole of several parts. Therefore, it is an important duty for the leaders to strengthen the idea of strategy and to make strategic consideration and guidance. In this sense, all leaders must also be strategists. We must ponder, observe, and solve problems from the higher plane of strategy and learn how to promote the development of our cultural undertakings in accordance with the strategic viewpoint. Of course,

in working out the strategy and concrete plans for cultural development, we must proceed from our real situation rather than doing superficial work. We must mobilize the forces in various fields to support our cultural construction with policies, funds, and opinions. We must do our utmost to achieve great successes in developing our socialist cultural undertakings so as to satisfy the people's needs in this respect.

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## ASSIGN AGRICULTURE A CORRECT POSITION AND INCREASE THE PEASANTS' INCOME

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 12-15

[Article by Du Runsheng [2629 3387 3932]]

[Text] The output of grain dropped last year mainly because of serious natural disasters. However, it was also due to the lack of interest in farming on the part of peasants in some localities. The growth of the peasants' cash income also dropped drastically in the first quarter of this year. This situation merits attention.

### I

Why are the peasants of some localities not interested in farming? Because rural industry and sideline occupations in these localities have developed rapidly, the peasant households have more choices in investing their funds and laboring. Compared with rural industry and sideline occupation, the income from farming is relatively low. For this reason, the peasants are no longer interested in investing in farming, particularly in grain production. The decrease in peasants' income is not merely a question of some localities. It indicates the difference in position between industry and agriculture in the national economy as a whole. In the course of a country's development toward modernization, it is a rational phenomenon that the proportion of industrial output value in the national economy will increase and that of agricultural output value and income in the national income will correspondingly decrease. Generally speaking, the greater the proportion of agriculture in a country's GNP, the more backward the country will be. The proportional decrease of a country's agriculture is an indication of its advance toward modernization. Nevertheless, the proportion of agricultural output value in GNP is a matter different from the basic position of agriculture in the national economy as a whole and from the peasants' individual income. Following the modernization of the national economy as a whole, labor productivity of agriculture will increase with the support of industry, the foundation of agriculture will be enhanced, and the peasants' income will increase and gradually approach the level of urban inhabitants. If the proportion of agricultural output value becomes smaller and the growth of peasants' income slows down, the economic position of agriculture will decline and the foundation of the national economy as a whole will be weakened. This state of affairs should be avoided. It should be a long-term

strategic target of rural economic development to safeguard the economic position of agriculture, increase the peasants' income, and narrow the income gap between urban and rural inhabitants.

Viewed from the conditions of various countries, generally the following three circumstances show the "difference" in economic position between industry and agriculture:

First, with the development of industry, the proportion of agriculture becomes smaller, the number of people employed in nonagricultural fields increases, rural population decreases, the income of peasants goes up, and the gap in production and profits between industry and agriculture narrows. This was the case only in a small number of economically developed countries.

Second, the proportion of agriculture becomes smaller. However, rural population has not decreased and the growth of peasants' income is relatively slow. China was in such a state in the past. The proportion of industry in GNP has gradually increased to cover 60 percent. However, industrial population increased relatively slowly, while rural population accounted for over 80 percent of the country's total. This great disparity leads to imbalance of cultivated land and manpower, the two main factors of production. The development of agriculture reaches a stalemate and the peasants are in straitened circumstances because each peasant has only a mu or so of land to develop farming. This phenomenon is abnormal. Following the implementation of the new rural policies after 1980, the situation has changed remarkably. Rural population shifted rapidly to nonagricultural fields. By the end of 1985, there were 60 million peasants engaged in nonagricultural production. The average per capita income of the peasants increased from 80 or 90 yuan to 400 yuan. Nevertheless, it is still indefinite whether this trend will continue. To maintain the steady growth, it is necessary to create new conditions.

Third, the proportion of agriculture becomes smaller, rural population decreases drastically, and the peasants' income increases. However, there is still a gap between workers and peasants. This is the case in most of the economically developed countries. As these countries practice a free market economy, the profit rate of their industry and agriculture should be more or less the same and the gap between industry and agriculture should be eliminated. Actually, the situation is that industrial profits are higher than agricultural profits and sometimes there is a great disparity between the two. The rural population of the United States has now dropped to 3.5 to 4 percent and its agricultural setup is highly organic. However, there is still a gap between the income of workers and farmers. Some people made the following reckoning: For every \$1 worth of foodstuff sold in the United States, the farmers get only \$0.4. This shows that income from primary farm products is relatively low. According to relevant data, if we take a worker's income as 100, the income of a farmer is 88 in New Zealand, 77 in Denmark, 56 in the United States, 44 in West Germany, 36 in France, and 34 in Japan. Obviously, there is also a great disparity in income between industry and agriculture in these developed countries. Why is it possible? This is determined by agriculture's characteristic of being a biological production.

1. As agriculture is strongly related to the seasons, the process of natural production cannot keep up with that of labor. Different machines are used for different production work and the utilization ratio of fixed assets is far below that of industry. Farm machines are used for around 2 months and sometimes even 10 days or so in a year. In industry, however, the machines are used all year round, despite bad weather.

2. The progress of agrotechnology lags behind industry. Under given technological conditions, land reward in agriculture tends to decrease progressively. To increase the labor productivity of agriculture, it is necessary to get more machines, chemical fertilizer, and other materials and to use up less living labor. In agriculture, however, the growth of material investment cannot always bring about simultaneous or excessive growth of production. Without the improvement made in technology, the growth of agricultural production will slow down when material investment reaches a certain point. As a result, production costs will increase and profits from farm produce will decrease. This seldom happens in industrial production. For this reason, people usually invest funds and technology in industry rather than agriculture, which results in affecting the scientific progress of agriculture.

3. Restricted by various natural conditions, there are great risks to be run in agriculture. For example, certain localities in China are often hit by natural disasters. Consequently, the peasants' investment in a certain year could come to naught.

The most important point is the lower elasticity of the consumption of farm products. When the farm products exceed demand, they cannot be consumed. But when they are in short supply, it leads to a strain in the market. Moreover, the production cycle of farm products is long and the crop sown cannot be shifted to the production of other crops in the year. Once supply exceeds demand in the market, it can dampen the initiative of the peasants. Therefore, the balance of production and marketing, though difficult to attain, is particularly important. Even if we can maintain overall balance, we may not be able to maintain a balance in every aspect. For example, China's total grain output is limited, but there were surpluses in some areas in 1984. The grain from the northeast cannot reach Fujian. Although Hunan is close to Guizhou, they have extreme difficulties in allocating grain to each other. Besides judging the matter from overall balance, we should also take into account the extent of China's unified market taking shape, the circulation of commodities, and the purchasing power of consumers. Viewed worldwide, there is a grain shortage. There are 100 million people in Africa who do not have enough to eat. However, a number of farms in the United States have gone bankrupt because of the surplus crisis. Nevertheless, grain, as a staple food, cannot be replaced. Most of the protein and carbohydrate necessary to the human body come from grain. The production of meat also consumes a large amount of grain. Grain shortages will lead to social disorder. Thus, the governments of various countries have adopted special measures to protect grain production.

To sum up, the proportional decrease of agriculture in the total product of society is a regularly normal phenomenon. It is a good rather than a bad thing. However, it would be abnormal if the profit rate of agriculture cannot increase simultaneously or if it increases at a slow pace and if the income gap between urban and rural inhabitants is widened rather than narrowed.

This is a question related to agriculture as well as to the national economy as a whole. From a long-term point of view, China's industrial development can only be based on the domestic market, in which the rural market constitutes the greatest portion. It is necessary to create conditions for demand in rural areas so as to promote the supply of manufactured goods. In China today, some products are in short supply while some are unmarketable. The unmarketable goods are mainly second and third class goods. If the peasants' income cannot increase and their purchasing power remains at a low level, it will be difficult to market the large amount of manufactured goods, particularly the second and third class goods. This is disadvantageous to industry as well as commerce. Therefore, to protect the steady increase of the peasants' income is tantamount to maintaining the development of the national economy.

## II

How should we protect the position of rural economy and raise the peasants' income?

1. The rural economic structure should be reformed as quickly as possible and be switched to the socialist commodity economy so as to reinforce the economic vitality of agriculture, promote its function of accumulation, and increase its ability to make the most of modern technology;
2. Transform the setup of rural production from management of a single trade to overall management of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, and agriculture-industry-commerce and set up new trades to create employment opportunities for the surplus labor; and
3. While transferring labor to other fields, it is necessary to vigorously exploit farmland, increase material investment, improve the production conditions for agriculture, and take the road of intensive farming.

The above three measures are interrelated and neither can be separated from the others.

State finance is the necessary condition for supporting the development of agriculture. Viewed from the situation of the developed countries, U.S. agriculture accounts for only 4 percent of the national income, yet the government grants a financial subsidy of 9 percent; West Germany's agricultural taxes account for around 1.7 percent of the nation's total, while agricultural investment constitutes 7 percent of the state budget; the EEC used 70 percent of its budget from 1973 to 1983 to subsidize farm products; and Japan subsidized 1,000 billion yen to agriculture over the past few

years, while getting very little back from agriculture. The experience of various countries also shows that the development of agriculture would be impossible without the support of society and the state. This is because farm products are of vital importance to the people's livelihood. Moreover, the vast countryside is an extensive market for manufactured goods. As agriculture has the characteristic of being biological production, the exchange at unequal values between industry and agriculture to a certain extent cannot yet be eliminated through market competition. The benefits of agricultural production unattainable from market exchange can only be made up by the state through financial means.

In the past, the price scissors for the exchange of industrial products for agricultural ones were considerably wide in China. Following the readjustment in 1979, the price scissors were narrowed by 9.8 percent annually. In recent years, however, with the price increase of agricultural means of production and due to other complicated reasons in the national economic structure, the price scissors which narrowed over the years are again tending to be widened. For this reason, only by protecting the prices of farm products can we stimulate agricultural production. Nevertheless, if the prices soar to an extent beyond the capacity of the consumers, it will easily lead to social turbulence. Although a balance can be maintained by granting price subsidies to the consumers, it will inevitably increase the burden of finance. From a long-term point of view, the most important thing is to increase investment, improve the production conditions of agriculture, make rational use of agricultural resources, and increase the productivity of labor and land so that the peasants who stay can make profits and are willing to do farming. We should also make every effort to extricate agriculture from backwardness as quickly as possible and increase its capacity of self-development. While China's investment in industry has progressively increased in recent years, its investment in agriculture has gradually decreased. This cannot be regarded as a normal phenomenon.

China now has around 100 million mu of high-yield farmland. To strive for sustained and high output, it is necessary to make up for the average of 7 million mu of farmland occupied every year for the construction of urban areas, industry, and communications. By the end of the century, we should transform 50 million mu of low-yield farmland and reclaim 50 million mu of land. We should also invest in intellectual resources and develop science and technology. To solve these problems, the efforts of the peasants are not enough. We should rely on the unified planning and overall arrangements of the state.

In the light of historical experience, better economic results of agricultural production, particularly grain production, can be attained only when a balance of operation scale, fixed assets, and labor investment is maintained. China has a large population with limited arable land. With a lack of fixed assets, we can only rely on labor and animals to carry out production. However, if there is a surplus of labor, the investment in machinery will only increase the production costs rather than the output. For this reason, the prerequisite condition for intensive farming is to transfer rural labor to the nonagricultural production departments. China's urban industry has



absorbed a labor force of only 100 million over the past 30 years. Only by developing township industry can we transfer the surplus rural labor, supplement agriculture with industry within the region, promote technical transformation of agriculture, invest more in fixed assets, and increase the productivity of land and labor. Why should the profits created by township industry be used to subsidize the peasants? As there objectively exists a price difference between farm products and manufactured goods, land is a scarce resource, and the peasants have made obligatory contributions to the workers in the supply of food, social welfare, construction, and improvement of living conditions, the workers also have the obligation to subsidize the peasants. Naturally, the supplement of agriculture with industry will gradually turn into a mechanism for the circulation of essential factors and readjustment of certain resources. We are not yet sure how this mechanism will take shape. But we will certainly be able to break a new path and to readjust the difference between the economic position of industry and agriculture in the area of townships and villages.

In reforms over the past few years, the implementation of the land contract system has led to the formation of an operational form on a household basis and allowed the land to be utilized in a decentralized manner. But only a good transfer of the labor force will help the peasants expand the scope of their operation.

The scope of their operation can be expanded on the basis of joint or individual households. An important point is to maintain the operational form on a household basis. In most regions, the operational form on a household basis is more suitable for agricultural production than other forms, as it is quite responsive to the changes in natural conditions. The design of agricultural machinery should be suited to the operational requirements of agricultural production carried out on a household basis. For example, if there is a full set of agricultural machinery that can be operated by a two-member family, this family does not need to hire other peasants to manage larger areas of farmland. In addition, the production materials for modern industrial production, such as chemical fertilizers, farm chemicals, and so on, can be used for better rotational farming to increase agricultural production. Furthermore, society can also provide service before, in the course of, and after production to expand division of labor among specialized units. In this way, the household operational form will be able to free itself from the restrictions of the old small peasant economy and to maintain its economic position in modern agriculture. Most of the rural areas in developed countries are composed of household farms. Although China's agricultural technology is backward and it is not provided with the above conditions, the good points of the operational form on a household basis are beginning to manifest themselves. This operational form has enabled responsibility, rights, and interests to fall into conformity and is good for maintaining the tradition of intensive farming, reducing management expenditures, and producing more with fewer costs. Therefore, we must affirm rather than change the operational form on a household basis. This corresponds with the wish of the peasants. But the peasants should be made to understand this: When one household finds it impossible to fulfill a task, it should unite with other households; certain contradictions between



individuals and society should be resolved through united efforts; some risks in operation should be undertaken collectively; and joint efforts are also necessary for the development of the commodity economy and for specialized and socialized production. The foundation of the household operational form should remain firm. Integration should be encouraged but steady steps and measures must be taken to ensure that this integration proceeds well. In most regions, integration can be carried out in various forms in terms of providing service before and after production. In 15 percent of the townships and villages throughout the country, the collective operational form still occupies the dominant position. They run cooperative farms by using industry to make up for agriculture, thereby injecting new vitality into grain production. This should be allowed to continue. It is permissible for various forms of farming to develop simultaneously.

On the one hand, certain economic policies should be adopted to encourage those engaged in concurrent jobs to transfer their contract farmland to others; and on the other, village organs of power and cooperative organizations should form a land management system to stop the illegal occupation of farmland and to prevent the further carving up of land. Peasant households incapable of handling their contract farmland should be persuaded into returning or transferring it, and methods should be worked out to help them resolve their difficulties.

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THE HARNESSING OF THE LOESS PLATEAU IN THE MIDDLE REACHES OF HUANG HE AS VIEWED FROM MOUNTAIN AREAS IN WESTERN SHANXI

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[Article by Wang Jiangong [3769 1696 0501]]

[Text] Harnessing of the loess plateau in the middle reaches of the Huang He is the basic measure of treating the flood dangers of the Huang He and is also an important strategy of vigorously developing the river's valley region. Shanxi Province is located in the middle reaches of the Huang He and is one of the most important locations of soil erosion of the loess plateau. How to step up its treatment and to improve the benefits of the harnessing work is an important and big problem with a bearing on the situation as a whole.

Investigating this problem, we have taken three trips to the countryside, spent more than 2 months surveying some 19 counties along the river and, together with the cadres, masses and technicians of the localities, studied the gains and losses in the separate stages of the harnessing of the loess plateau since the founding of the PRC. We summed up the fresh experiences in transforming mountains and harnessing rivers since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and sought from them objective laws and basic countermeasures. Following investigation and research, we have obtained a certain new understanding which may be boiled down to a single point, namely, that of mobilizing thousands of households to attack the problem of transforming innumerable mountains and valleys.

Embedding the Grand Target of Harnessing Mountains and Rivers in the Economic Activities of Curing Poverty and Becoming Well Off

Through making a classical analysis of the pros and cons, we have become increasingly aware that in mobilizing thousands of households to harness the mountains and culverts and making the harnessing of the loess plateau become a conscious activity of the millions of peasants, it is necessary to further establish this guiding thought, that is, closely integrating the harnessing of mountains and rivers with curing poverty and becoming well off, embedding this gigantic target in the microeconomic activities of curing poverty and becoming well off of the tens of millions of peasant masses. Surrounding this guiding thought, we must clarify our understanding of the following three problems:

## I. Harnessing the Rivers, Treating Drought and Curing Poverty Basically Depend on Transforming the Mountains

The basic problem of the scourge of Huang He is that of silt and sand. In order to remove the hidden danger of the enormous dikes along the 10,000-li of the lower reaches of the Huang He "constantly increasing in height though still not lessening the flood danger," it is necessary to concentrate on solving the serious soil erosion problem in the middle reaches of the river. Looking at Shanxi Province as a whole, the soil erosion area of the Huang He valley is over 60,000 square kilometers and the average annual outgo or loss of silt and sand is 360 million tons with the average soil erosion figure being 6,000 tons per square kilometer. The gross area of the 19 counties along the river is over 43 million mu and the soil erosion area reaches over 28 million mu, or 65 percent. Of this, the gross area of the 11 counties of the mountainous region in western Shanxi is over 29 million mu and the soil erosion area is over 21 million mu, or 72 percent. The lowest modulus of soil erosion of these 19 counties is around 3,000 tons per square kilometer, while that of Pinglu County in the Sanmen Gorge water reservoir area is over 5,700 tons, those of 11 counties in western Shanxi are all over 10,000 tons each while the highest is 22,000 tons in Hechu County. Such serious soil erosion is menacing not only areas in the lower reaches of Huang He but also the areas in the middle reaches. Likewise, the valleys of the 11 first-grade tributaries of the Huang He within Shanxi Province have also suffered from soil erosion. The Fenho water reservoir, the largest in Shanxi Province, has a capacity of 710 million cubic meters of water. Water storage began in 1961, but by 1985, after only 25 years, the accumulation of silt and sand was already 310 million cubic meters. This has seriously affected Taiyuan city's flood prevention measures, as well as water usage in cities and towns and irrigation of some 1.5 million mu of farmland. Actual practice has shown that the basic measure for harnessing water is to transform the mountains. If we do not solve the soil erosion problem of the loess plateau, any measure to harness the river will require double the efforts but produce half the results, and in extreme cases the efforts could be in vain.

Nor only does harnessing the rivers basically depend on transforming the mountains but fighting drought likewise basically depends on transforming the mountains. Over many years, mankind has spent enormous amounts of manpower, money, and material resources on diverting the course of the Huang He, digging wells, and building water reservoirs. Such work definitely has been instrumental in increasing the output of grain and cotton. But by and large, in western Shanxi, adoption of the measure of lifting water from the river to carry out high-altitude irrigation has never basically accomplished the objectives of fighting drought and attaining high yields. What we saw along the route was several hundred meters of high-life "drought irrigation station," enormous waterless aqueducts and "sky-looking pools" (water pools in high mountains) which were overgrown with wild flowers and weeds. Even though one or two high-altitude irrigation stations were still serviceable, they still lay idle because of the high cost of putting them into operation. In the course of the survey we deeply felt that the main way out for agriculture in the loess plateau was not irrigated agriculture but organic drought agriculture, that is to say, agriculture requiring the rational

application of organic fertilizer, and improving the soil structure to increase its water retaining capacity. Among the counties we visited, the average precipitation was between 400 and 600 millimeters and they were not dry or drought-ridden areas. The only problem was the great proportion of the farmland, barren valleys, and gullies all had poor water-retaining capacity. Among the many branches of the Huang He, many were dried up in the drought season but when the rains came, floodwater would follow and the great proportion of the rain water would rush downstream and drift away. As the saying goes: "Only when the hills are forever green can blue water flow constantly." Through all-round treatment converting the loess plateau into a "soil reservoir" and a "green reservoir" then the problem of water shortage in the mountains will lose its gravity and the specters of drought and low production will disappear.

Transforming the mountains is not only the basic measure of treating the ravages of drought but also a basic and important road to curing poverty and attaining affluence. Although the mountainous areas in western Shanxi are rich in land resources, in light and energy, and in underground mining resources, they have been in a poor and backward state for a prolonged period. One of the important reasons is the "low-level surface cultivation," eating up nature's capital resources and thereby causing a vicious cycle in ecology and economy. In order to shake off the specter of poverty and backwardness, it is necessary to vigorously build up a green treasure house on land and open up the underground treasure house of minerals. At the same time, for the tens of thousands of households, making a radical change in the traditional economic practices of planting extensively but reaping little and doing unbridled cultivation and breeding, is a more realistic way to eliminating poverty and becoming better off. To break through such traditional economic practices calls for, under financial help and guidance of the state, a transformation from the past practices of simply "relying on the mountains and living on them" to "relying on the mountains, transforming them, building them up and living on them," and opening up a three-dimensional agriculture, and building the vast mountainous regions into a real "green treasure house."

Since harnessing the rivers, fighting drought, and curing poverty are all big issues with a direct bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood and at the same time are urgent matters that should not be questioned or further delayed, the strategic significance and urgent nature of transforming the mountains are really predetermined. Harnessing the loess plateau and controlling soil erosion are not only the lifeline of the masses in the mountainous areas but also the safety line of people on the flatland. Therefore, they should be taken as basic measures for putting the country in order and should occupy an important place in the daily agenda. They should be grasped with great force and carried on steadily and patiently.

## II. Transforming the Thousand Mountains and Valleys of the Loess Plateau Is a Gigantic and Difficult Engineering Project: Only Through Mobilizing and Relying on the Thousands of Households Can Results Be Achieved Quickly and on the Largest Scale

In the survey, we came across a question which must be answered: Since the Second Session of the First NPC held in July 1955 made the "Decision on a Comprehensive Plan To Basically Cure the Scourge of the Huang He and Open Up the Water Conservancy of the River," the whole loess plateau has begun to grasp soil conservation work. Over 30 years have since passed. The conservation work has continued but the silt and sand washing into the river have not been substantially diminished and these localities have still not shaken off their impoverished state. This being the case, what actual results have been achieved in transforming the mountains? If we recall and sum up the experiences over these 30 years, we shall admit that there have been definite results in the soil conservation work. From what we have seen in the 19 counties alongside the Huang He, up to the end of 1985, some 4 million mu of terraced fields, sand bars, beach land and dried flatland, averaging 1.1 mu per person, have been built. In addition, 6.45 million mu of soil conservation forests have been built, 0.86 million mu of hillsides have been closed to facilitate afforestation, and 0.86 million mu of land have been planted with grass for livestock grazing. Over 12 million mu of land have also been initially treated against soil erosion, being 43 percent of the total area of soil erosion. Unfortunately, due to the "leftist" influences and our lack of experience, we have taken a roundabout course in our work and the lessons learned have been intensive ones. The principal ones were: 1) The treatment work lacked continuity. Since 1955 when the soil conservation work entered its first high tide, the work has gone through "three ups and two downs," that is, in the difficult 3-year period in the early 1960's and the most critical period of the 10 years' disturbances, soil conservation work was twice completely halted or half-halted, thus affecting the administration work. 2) The treatment work has not been extensive enough. It is true that in the counties we visited, there were certain "points" where the standard of the treatment work done had been fairly high while along the highways there were signs of initial work having been done. But even since the promotion in recent years of the experiences of contracting to the households the responsibilities of treating small river valleys, we have still not reached the stage of really carrying out large-scale harnessing and transforming work. 3) The standard of the work done has not been high enough. Some were projects in name only but had no substance. Many forest areas were in a half-deserted state. Although work has already been done on some of the gullies, there were still no signs of any grass or plants and the gullies were still bare. 4) The phenomenon of "the harnessing work and damaging work going along simultaneously" was rather serious. Aside from cutting down the trees at random and opening up barren land to extend planting, the opening of mines, quarrying, building roads and erecting kilns have all contributed to damaging plants and trees and the loss and erosion of soil. All the above-mentioned factors have seriously affected the speed and results of the work of transforming and harnessing the loess plateau. In recent years, following the development of the households contracting for the work on the small river valleys into centralizing and linking the work together, the steps taken have

been quickened. In the short space of only a few years, in the 11 counties along the river in western Shanxi's mountain areas, contracts have been signed for treating 38,000 small river valleys. They covered an area of 4.23 million mu of which some 2.81 million mu, or 66 percent of the whole, have already gone through initial treatment; in addition, contracts have been signed for the care and protection of an area of 1.2 million mu. In 1985, compared with 1978, the area of land on which soil erosion has been kept under control has increased by over 100 percent and in general the effects and speed of the treatment work done greatly surpassed that done in the 29 years before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Nevertheless, at present, the water retaining capacity of the new forests, the sparsely-wooded forests, and the newly formed grassland is still relatively weak, the measures and projects taken are still not perfect, and the results have not yet been fully demonstrated. All this goes to show that transforming the mountains, harnessing the rivers, fighting drought and curing poverty are all long-term measures and require continuous probing and the accumulation of experiences. In order to fulfill these enormous tasks, only by mobilizing and depending upon the thousands upon thousands of households and making them become truly masters of the land and join forces in a prolonged battle, can success be attained. Obviously, it will not work if we depend simply and solely on the strength of the state or on a few large households contracting for the jobs. At present, in the hilly regions of western Shanxi where contracting for the treatment work by the households have been carried out fairly well, actually only some 20 percent of the households have taken part. This is obviously not sufficient. This gigantic enterprise of transforming the mountains and harnessing the rivers marks a turning point in agricultural production in the loess plateau from the traditional production form of "low-level surface cultivation" and is also a turning point in leading the peasants of the locality to thoroughly break with the plundering type of cultivation. If only we can mobilize the many peasant households and realize these historical turning points, then the gigantic target of basically eradicating the scourge of the Huang He and transforming the appearance of the mountain areas can be realized in not too long a period.

### III. Closely Integrate the Transformation of Mountains, Harnessing of Rivers, Curing Poverty and Becoming Well Off and Instill the Benefits of Prevention and Protection and the Ecological Benefits Into the Microeconomic Activities of the Thousands of Peasant Households

In our survey of a number of townships and villages which have performed soil conservation work fairly well, we have found that their most basic experience was the close integration of transformation of the mountains, harnessing of the rivers, curing poverty and getting well off. The great majority of these townships and villages, on starting their work in this connection, paid close attention to the economic interests of the masses and made each and every preventive, protectional, and ecological measure a production measure. Each and every step taken was a step to develop the productive force. In these localities, the masses, in their economic activities to get rid of poverty and become well off, have reflected a high degree of enthusiasm for transforming the mountains and harnessing the rivers, and they have

accomplished this through thoroughly implementing the party's guidelines and policies and insisting firmly on the employment of scientific and rational technology in operation and through having actually seen the operation benefits. On the contrary, in certain localities which had solely relied on state investments to "purchase" enthusiasm, or depended on administrative decrees to complete their soil conservation tasks, or had come to a stop after propagating that "planting trees and afforestation were equivalent to building a green bank"--completely ignoring the integration of current interests with future interests--the results achieved were opposite to their wishes. Not only were their results poor but there were also the phenomena of "treatment going on the one hand, destruction proceeding on the other." In some extreme cases, the work of treating small valleys changed form and became merely opening up barren land for planting grain.

Transforming the mountains and harnessing the river is definitely not a simple problem of soil conservation. Rather, it is an important measure for the masses in the mountainous areas to get rid of poverty and become well off. Because it principally depends on labor accumulation, requires little investment and a low level of technology, it is the kind of work which each and every household can perform. If we, in our guidance work, were to take a one-sided attitude, or depart from the concrete environment and strong points of the locality to seek another "road to becoming well off," or be isolated from the entire economic and social development and simply seek soil conservation and ecological balance, then the result would be the divorcing of transforming the mountains and harnessing the rivers from getting rid of poverty and becoming well off. Hence, in our treatment of the loess plateau and developing soil conservation, it is necessary to suit the measures to local conditions and formulate a program and measures which integrate the preventive and protective benefits, the ecological benefits and the economic benefits and step by step lead the peasants' current microeconomic activities in the direction required by the macroeconomic and long-term interests.

#### Let Each Inch of Land in the Loess Plateau Retain Water and Breed Wealth

In order to carry out the guiding thought of integrating the transforming of mountains and harnessing of rivers with getting rid of poverty and becoming well off, it is our belief that in the guideline of work it is necessary to emphasize that the comprehensive treatment of mountains, rivers, farmland, ridges, slopes, and gullies must be linked with, and coordinated by, agriculture, forestry, husbandry, planting, breeding and processing. We must also insist firmly on the tripartite measure of combining the retention of water and conservation of soil, afforestation of the mountains, and development of three-dimensional agriculture, ultimately realizing the target that each and every inch of land in the loess plateau will retain water and breed wealth.

Implementing this general guiding thought and method of procedure touches on various factors in regard to the natural, economic and social aspects, and is fairly complicated and systematic work. Just how to start and how to develop it must suit the measures to local conditions and we should never stick to one method or act rashly. In summing up the experiences of the



various counties in western Shanxi, the following common problems are worthy of our attention:

First, given the special feature of the mountainous region in western Shanxi being traditionally an integrated area of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, it is first necessary to consider the problem of the construction of basic farmland.

In looking over the county records of the various counties, we found that historically this region had a beautiful environment, abounding with forests and rich in water resources. The most important reason for its vegetation being destroyed, causing a serious state of soil erosion, was the low level of grain production for a prolonged period which had forced cultivation of land at random, cutting down trees, and planting extensively but reaping very scantily. Since the establishment of the PRC, there has been a continuous appearance of the phenomenon of the transforming of the mountains and harnessing of the river going on the one hand and opening up of barren land and expanded planting going on the other due to the prolonged insufficiency in grain. From now on, unless the per-mu output of grain has been raised from 100-200 jin to over 400 jin, and the per-capita grain raised from the current 500-600 jin to around 1,000 jin, then there cannot be any development in diversified operation, and the continuance of the phenomenon of opening up barren land and extensive planting cannot be completely avoided. In order to thoroughly solve the problem of planting extensively but reaping little and of random cultivation of land and cutting down of trees, the only way out is to build basic farmland.

At present, 50 percent of the silt carried by the Huang He comes from the cultivated hillside land. It directly affects the results of treating the gullies. One of the methods of solving the problem of cultivated fields on the slopes is to convert the less steep fields into basic farmland, making use of the measure of organic drought farming such as levelling the ground, building ridges, deep plowing and application of fertilizer and converting the farmland into a highly effective "soil water reservoir," embedding the idea of retaining water and conserving soil in farming. Another method is to stop farming the steep hillsides and to return to tree planting and grass planting. In such a case, the extent of retraction of farming should be directly related to the extent of the formation and construction of the basic farmland. The building of basic farmland is not only a measure in agricultural production but also an extremely important measure for the conservation of water and soil. In the past, there was a one-sided belief that only through building reservoirs and afforestation could water be retained and that this was the only proper measure for water and soil conservation. People had not given enough attention to the capability of a large piece of farmland retaining water and conserving soil. This kind of idea must be rectified.

Seen from the angle of the development of agricultural economy, western Shanxi originally was a traditional integrated area of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. It was only because of the low level of grain production that the development of forestry and animal husbandry was restricted.



Only when there is sufficient grain, and a surplus, for the people and animals can the development of forestry and animal husbandry stand firm. Since the founding of the PRC, the more classical examples of localities which have done well in water and soil conservation as well as maintaining a fairly high level of economic development had mostly made a start from building basic farmland.

In the comprehensive handling and treatment of mountains, rivers, farmland, ridges, slopes and gullies, the building of basic farmland should be given priority. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, Shanxi's plan calls for building basic farmland of not less than 10 percent of the total area of farmland under treatment, and the investments in the building of basic farmland should generally occupy over 50 percent of the gross investments on water and soil conservation. In building basic farmland, first it is necessary to select the best land conditions within the valley area such as hillsides that are not too steep, gully bottoms, and river beaches and employ various measures such as building terraced fields, putting up silt arresters, fertilizing the soil with silt, silting the river beaches and flooding the soil. There must be definite engineering measures and biological measures. We must prevent dismantling after building, thus avoiding fruitless labor. Second, formalism must be prevented and efforts must be made to increase soil fertility. Soil fertility and the capacity to conserve water and soil should be the main criteria for judging whether a basic field is up to standard or not. Third, it is necessary to observe the principle that building of basic fields should be coordination with stopping farming and returning to planting trees and grass on steep hillsides.

Second, the treatment of barren slopes and barren gullies should proceed alongside the building of basic fields. Equal importance should be attached to them and they should supplement each other. Seen from the experiences of localities which have succeeded in this phase of work, there are two things in common: One is that the treatment must be comprehensive. A small valley is a natural unit by itself. Frequently, it has a concentration of various forms of topography. Hence, not only must we insist on the integration of engineering measures and biological measures, but also adopt different measures of treatment according to the difference in topography. Second, slopes and gullies must both be treated and treated at the same pace. The sequence to follow should be from the ridge of the slope to the bottom of the gully, from the bottom of the gully to the mouth of the gully and from the upper reaches to the lower reaches, basically achieving the feat of treating the ridges, slopes and gullies at the same pace.

Third, in treating the small valleys and building the basic fields, it is necessary to pay close attention to the economic benefits. Possession of benefits means possession of vigor and high benefits mean great vitality. In order to increase and raise the economic benefits, in each and every measure we must suit measures to the local conditions, perform well economic accounting, compare the input and the output, and take the road of economy in investment but producing high benefits. We must reject such measures as seeking formality, disregarding actual results and disregarding the cost of production. In the planning of comprehensive treatment and its enforcement,

be it an engineering project or a biological project, it is necessary to consider the need to form a rational industrial structure inside agriculture as a whole and its benefits to the coordinated development of the plantation trade, forestry and fruits trade and animal husbandry trade (planting of grass). It is also necessary to firmly insist on comprehensively developing planting, rearing and processing. On the basis of transforming the mountains, harnessing the river, and engaging in large-scale planting, rearing and breeding, we must fully utilize the various kinds of resources fostered or cultivated in the treatment of the small valleys, develop the processing industry, and improve the comprehensive use of agricultural and sideline products and raise the level of their value-increment. We must strengthen the construction of the various basic facilities and technological service structures needed by agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and the planting, rearing and processing trades, such as construction of bases for production of saplings and nursery stock, bases for fostering grass seeds and structures for the breeding, improvement and plague prevention of animals, processing plants for feed grass and feed materials, and so forth.

Fourth, it is necessary, along with the comprehensive treatment of the mountains and rivers and the coordinated development of the economy, to greatly improve the quality factor of the cadres and the masses. It is necessary not only to foster, train, and educate the cadres of this locality so that they are familiar with economic work and with water and soil conservation but also to tell the peasants clearly that only in transforming the mountains, fostering and building up the mountains, and enriching the mountains is it possible to rely on the mountains and live on the mountains, so that gradually we can arrive at the stage of having a way to transform the mountains, a method to keep them in good shape, a limit on taking from them and a purpose in their utilization.

#### Leadership Work Should Be Placed on the Critical Juncture of Mobilizing Innumerable Households To Transform the Mountains

It is indeed an enormous project to carry out this all-round and comprehensive transformation and treatment of this vast loess plateau. It requires the party committees at various levels and the government to do a lot of propaganda, mobilization, organization, coordination and guidance. It requires all-round planning which should be put into operation in different stages, very much like a "relay race" in which one term of leadership follows another term of leadership, determinedly carrying on to fruition. At present, the problems needing the attention of the organization leadership mainly consist of those of planning, investment, policy regarding contracting, compilation of relevant statutes, leadership method and leadership work style.

Over many years, from the province to the county and township, plans have been formulated many times. Although these plans have played a certain role, in their enforcement frequently they could not be maintained to the end or be truly carried out. There were three main reasons: First, many of the plans lacked a scientific character and were actually not feasible; frequently they followed only certain target figures fixed by the upper-level

organs. Second, most of the plans were rough and general ones with the counties and townships as units and few were concrete plans broken down into small river valleys as units to facilitate the masses to carry them out. Third, nearly every time there was a change in leadership, new ideas were introduced and the plans had to be changed, thus breaking continuity. However, in the last 2 years, these problems have greatly changed. In certain of the counties which have turned in a good performance, they had universally insisted on suiting measures to local conditions, made all-round planning, fixed the responsibilities at different levels and carried out the plans step by step. They also handled the tasks in a comprehensive manner, eliminating the harmful aspects and fostering the advantageous ones, improving the quality of the work and enforcing strict management. They have been firm, insistent, and tireless, grasping a job to the end and made periodical inspections to ensure adherence to the original principle and method. By so doing, they have aroused the enthusiasm for transforming the mountains and valleys on the part of the innumerable households, and begun to step on the road of scientifically and conscientiously carrying out their work. After a plan has been mapped out, it must be continuously supplemented, revised and perfected and at all times its solemn character must be maintained. This is related to the question of the relative stability of the leadership team or personnel. If a plan lacks a scientific character, is devoid of solemnity, and is not supported by a relatively stable leadership, there is no possibility of the continuity of the work of transforming the mountains and harnessing the rivers.

In making the various investments on water and soil conservation, the important thing is that the money is spent on projects that can arouse the enthusiasm of the innumerable households for transforming the mountains and gullies. Almost without exception regions suffering from soil erosion are in themselves impoverished areas. Some of them may have just been able to make a moderate living while other places rely on loans and subsidies from the government to purchase the chemical fertilizer and farm medicines for maintaining simple reproduction. Thus, from now on, whenever feasible, the state should continue to give them subsidies. Under the conditions of the limited amounts of investments and subsidies from the state, investments of the regions should, wherever possible, be handled by the county which should follow the general plan, make unified management arrangements, differentiate between those that are urgent and those that are not, and concentrate the use of the money on certain major valleys. At the same time, we should never grasp just a few points or a single line or several lines of actions and spend valuable funds on "exhibition projects" or "face projects" but should, wherever possible, spend as little money as possible, accomplish much, and strive for better results in our work.

Countering the peasants' "fear of change," it is necessary to further carry out and perfect the policy of accepting contracting for the treatment work, so that the peasants will feel at ease and carry out their work with a free hand. In the contracting for treating small valleys, not only is it necessary to firmly and irrevocably insist on and enforce, the system of contract responsibility on the household basis but also we must be prepared to issue the "two certificates" (contract agreement for work on the small valleys and

certificate of carrying out treatment and opening up work), must make clear the "three rights" (right of using the small valley, right of contracting, and right of transfer), and must insist that whoever contracts does the work and receives its benefits. In actual work, we should refrain from readjusting the land or small valley under the contract, so as to avoid disputes and fluctuations in thinking.

Now is the time to discuss the role of the problem of statute compilation in the work on the loess plateau. Be it a collective, or an individual, or a government department, or an industrial or commercial undertaking, all acts that damage water and soil conservation and the ecological environment must be challenged and prosecuted by law. Regarding unavoidable damage in the course of production construction, we should insist on the principle of the integration of production construction and environmental construction so that whoever does the damage shall make reparation or compensation. As for peasant households which have contracted for work on the small valleys and failed to honor their promises, they should be given a time limit to complete their work. Those who have cultivated land at random should be criticized, or educated, or forbidden from doing so.

In the course of the survey, we have come across hundreds of heroes and model workers in the work of transforming the mountains and harnessing the rivers, but we have also discovered many old troubles which had occurred repeatedly and had been severely condemned, such as formalism, putting on all kinds of haughty airs, "doing work rashly," "making a great fanfare," applying the same method to all, issuing compulsory orders, rendering boastful and false reports, and so forth. Practices of this kind seemed to have lingered for a long time. Against such conditions, in addition to strengthening ideological education, it is necessary to universally enforce the system of making the cadres responsible for fulfilling their assigned targets during their term of office and to strictly carry out the system of punishment and award. In the sponsoring and employment of cadres, it is necessary to examine their actual performances. We should watch not only their production record for the year but also their long-term basic construction for the future. If only our cadres at various levels, particularly those at leadership posts, can have a strong dedication to their work and a sense of responsibility, are firm in their work style and correct in their methods, it will surely be possible to mobilize the many new "foolish old men" in the loess plateau and greatly speed up the steps in transforming the mountains, harnessing the rivers, getting rid of poverty and becoming well off, as well as to perform a good job of harnessing the Huang He and revamping the economy of the Huang He valley, the former cradle of the civilization of the Chinese race.

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## IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THE PEASANTS IS A PRESSING TASK IN RURAL WORK

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[Article by Zhang Tiefu [1728 6993 1133]]

[Text] In the last few years, a series of reforms have been carried out in the villages, fully arousing the enthusiasm of the 800 million peasants. The rural economy has been enlivened, production has grown continually, the vast majority of peasants have had their problems of food and clothing resolved and some people have started to become prosperous. The changes brought by the reforms are only at the preliminary stage and if we want to guarantee the sustained stable growth of grain production and the sustained stable growth of the peasant's income and finally realize the blueprint for building modern socialized villages which the party Central Committee has drawn up for the 800 million peasants, we must still make great efforts. In this, improving the quality of the peasants is a basic task.

### I

As far as peasants who for a long period have been fettered by the small-scale agricultural economy and have eaten from the "big pot" for many years are concerned, developing a commodity economy is an unfamiliar matter. In the small-scale agricultural economy, as Marx pointed out, the obtaining of the means of livelihood is mostly done through natural exchange and not through social exchange. To proceed from a closed self-sufficient or semi-self-sufficient economy to market exchange, and from collective labor where the team head set the work to independent operations where one has to learn about the law of value, is a very basic change. If we are to complete this change we must improve the quality of peasants.

The commodity market and the law of value are heartless. In the market, different qualities of the same type of agricultural or sideline products, have a great price disparity. The market demands constant change. What is in great demand today may tomorrow be piled up with no way to sell it. Market competition directly affects the economic interests of producers. Those people who have education, understand technology, have a head for economics, have quick access to information and can operate and manage things can do well in competition and lead the way in becoming prosperous. Those people who are not educated and have no technical abilities will feel

that there is no way to increase production and no opportunity to become prosperous. Some will even find no way to shake off poverty. Our nation is very vast and the economic bases of different areas are different. The natural conditions also differ widely and it is inevitable that the economic levels vary enormously. However, within the same area and even within the same village, when the conditions in various respects are about the same, because the quality of people is different, in the road to becoming prosperous disparities will emerge.

The peasants who have first become prosperous in our nation at present are those of the specialized households in various industries. The major of these are: cadres or people who have been cadres; educated youth or retired army men; and skillful craftsmen. In general, they have various conditions for developing the commodity economy, including a certain educational level, scientific knowledge and technical abilities, flexible minds, wide vision, wide avenues for gaining information and being good at working out plans for operations. According to an investigation of an area, in these specialized households there is virtually no illiteracy.

In ordinary rural households, it is the households with a high educational level which have the high income and quick improvement of their lives. According to a sample investigation of 30,000 peasant households throughout the nation by a relevant department in 1983, it was found that the average income of members of families with an upper middle school education level was 340 yuan, 22 yuan more than the 318 yuan for those with a junior middle school education. It was 55 yuan more than those who had upper primary school education and who had an average income of 285 yuan and 104 yuan more than the 236 yuan average for those who were illiterate or semi-literate. In another investigation of 30,000 households from the end of 1984 to the beginning of 1985, the average income per household was as follows: for those with a tertiary level education, 756 yuan; for those with upper middle school education, 556 yuan; for those with junior middle school education, 466 yuan; for those with primary education, 385 yuan; and for those who were illiterate, 284 yuan. An investigation of 1,100 peasant households in 22 counties by the relevant department of Shanxi Province also showed that the peasant household with a higher educational level obtained better economic results and had a higher commodity rate. For example, in those peasant households with a middle school educational level, income from diversified operations constituted 55 percent of total household income (in the households with an upper primary school level of education, the figure was 50 percent), and for every 100 yuan invested, they gained 558 yuan in income (in the households with an upper primary school level of education, the figure was 486 yuan).

Very many comrades are concerned about the question of disparities in rural economic life at present. The factors giving rise to the disparities are manifold and the above-noted investigations reveal one factor. This shows that if we want to realize the goal of common prosperity put forward by the central authorities, we must put great efforts into strengthening work in improving the quality of the peasants.

## II

It can be easily seen that wherever the leading organs and leading cadres stress culture, science and technology work, pay attention to intellectual investment and put efforts into improving the quality of the peasants, in those places the economy has developed quite quickly and the income of the peasants has increased by quite an amount.

Half of the cultivated land in Chiping County, Shandong is low-yield land. In the 20 years before 1978, the per unit yield was very low, average per capita income was only 30 to 40 yuan, 70 percent of the production teams were in debt to the state and each year the state further provided 47 million yuan in relief funds. After the family contract system was instituted, this county paid attention to readjusting the product structure and also put efforts into raising the scientific and technical qualities of the cadres and peasants. They selected a number of people with cultural and technical knowledge to enrich the cadre ranks. They selected county and commune cadres to go and study in the agricultural college and the scientific research units. They organized over 1,100 peasants to study in the central agricultural broadcast school and in agricultural middle schools. In the villages they started technological night schools and over 80,000 peasants participated in the study. They arranged technical lectures by wired broadcasts, developed technological consultancy services and so on. Apart from this, they also set up experimental plots for technology to increase production, trained science and technology demonstration households and backbone science and technology propagation workers, forming a four-level network of technological propagation. By 1983, all the cotton throughout the county was of a fine strain and they had spread the technology of using plastic membrane covering for fields and of using nutrient bowls in raising seedlings. From 1980 to 1983, the agricultural output value of this country doubled.

Liuzhuang [0491 8369] is an old advanced village in Xinxiang, Henan. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee they implemented comprehensive operations, specialized production, coordinating division of work and responsibility systems with rewards and penalties related to output. These changes further motivated the production enthusiasm of the peasants. At the same time, they put great efforts into increasing investment in intellect, expanding the development of education and scientific and technical training. They also strengthened ideological and political work. By 1984, they had 121 young people studying in television university, newspaper university, correspondence university and part-time study classes. Every year they also sent seven or eight young people to tertiary colleges to do further study and training. Specialists and technicians were also regularly invited to come to the village to lecture. They spent 50,000 yuan fitting out a television translator station, so as to provide the conditions by which those who were participating in the television university could study. They purchased over 6,000 yuan of books, subscribed to over 700 periodicals, and set up a book room and a reading room. They established 24 science and technology key-task teams, purchased over 50,000 yuan of scientific research instruments, constructed a science and technology building and employed computers. They also regularly organized recreation and sports activities.



The raising of the intellectual level of the peasants further promoted the development of production and the raising of the peasants' income. In 1985, the 1,268 persons of the village's 228 households had an average per capita gross income of 4,923 yuan, an actual distributed income of 1,500 yuan, and per capita savings in bank accounts of 2,180 yuan.

In these few years, our nation's agriculture has seen great production increases. This is mainly the result of the policies and the reforms. Information from many areas shows that if we wish to achieve sustained stable development of the rural economy we must, at the same time as persisting in reform, further improve production conditions and increase investment in them. This includes both material conditions as well as knowledge and technical abilities. People are the most dynamic factor in production. A richness of labor resources is a great superiority of our nation's agricultural development. However, the educational and technical levels of the majority of laborers is poor. This is a disadvantageous factor. In future, if we want to further improve the labor productivity of agriculture, adjust the rural industrial structure and greatly develop secondary and tertiary industry in the villages, then we must carry out training for the peasants and raise their employment skills. At present, of our nation's agricultural labor force, about one-quarter is illiterate. The number ignorant of science is even greater. Without scientific knowledge, they will be unable to accept and utilize advanced technology, will not understand information and will not understand the commodity economy. This will seriously restrict the development of the productive forces. In some areas the peasants do not understand how to plant scientifically, or even how to use fertilizer, and per unit yield is today still only 200-plus jin. Some have no funds, have no commercial experiences and do not understand market information. Thus, when they see others becoming rich through commerce, they blindly do the same, with the result that they incur great losses and may not even be able to pay off their debts.

Lenin said: "If we want to build communism, we must master technology and master science and get a greater number of the people to use them." "We must point out to the peasants, these the most undeveloped of the masses, that getting basic education and scientific and technical education to advance to a higher level is absolutely necessary if we are to guarantee that success is to be achieved in overall construction of the soviets." ("Complete Works of Lenin," People's Publishing House 1957 Edition, Vol 30, pp 419 and 345) Early in the years of struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the issue of having to raise the cultural and educational levels of the Chinese people. For example, in 1933 in the article "We Must Stress Economic Work," he pointed out: "Using cultural and education work to raise the political and cultural levels of the masses also has great importance in developing the national economy." In 1945, in "On Coalition Government" he pointed out: "Sweeping away illiteracy from 80 percent of the population is an important task for new China." When he was at Yen'an he also pointed out the importance of studying natural science. He said: Natural science can resolve the problems of food, clothing, shelter and transportation. Every person must study natural science and must, by proceeding from the existing agricultural technology and peasant's production knowledge in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia

border region, carry out research and help peasants to improve their production technology. He also pointed out that it was necessary to introduce agricultural knowledge classes in primary and middle schools, and to compile textbooks including agricultural knowledge for winter study. After new China was established our party and state did much work and achieved definite results in sweeping away illiteracy, in developing cultural education in the villages and in propagating and popularizing science and technology. However, for various reasons, the development of work in this respect has not reached the level anticipated. As we want our nation's agriculture to achieve modernization, and specialization and become a commodity industry, the problem of the poor quality of the peasants has become more and more prominent.

All the agriculturally developed nations in today's world pay great attention to education in the rural areas as well as to research in and propagation of agricultural science and technology. Some countries in Europe include agricultural education in compulsory education and young people, after receiving about 10 years of compulsory education, receive a further 2-5 years of vocational education. At the same time, they have established a quite complete farmer training system and implemented farmer qualification examinations. Only when people have passed these examinations do they qualify as farmers. In 1985, this writer visited Holland, Belgium, and the EEC, with the aim of understanding their work in the propagation of agricultural science and technology and farmer training. Since World War II, agriculture in Holland and Belgium has developed very quickly. A major reason for this is that they have stressed the role of agricultural science and technology. They have taken agricultural education, scientific and technological research and propagation, and information as the three bases (or three pillars) of agriculture. They have paid great attention to training the farmers and in continually improving the quality of the farmers. The investment in this respect in Holland constitutes 5 percent of the national budget for agriculture, and a government regulation requires that the head of a farming household and his successors have an educational level of at least agricultural middle school. The vast majority of the farmers in Belgium are graduates of agricultural middle schools and some have gone to work after graduation and continued with part-time studies.

### III

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and following the development of the agricultural economy, cultural and educational work as well as scientific and technological work in the villages has obtained pleasing results. During the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, 13,000 peasant technological schools were established throughout the nation, and 240,000 villages arranged technical night schools or training classes. Attendance at these classes was 80 million persons. Of those persons trained, each person mastered one or two items of practical rural technology. Since the winter of 1984, Hebei Province has provided technical training for the 6 million students in the villages so that each person has learned one or two items of practical technology. Of these, 380,000 persons have become the leaders of specialized households. At present, throughout

country there are over 41,000 scientific popularization associations established in townships and towns and over 60,000 specialized technological research societies and a number of educated specialized households and science and technology demonstration households have appeared. Jiaxiang County in Shandong has developed peasant education work and science and technology education work on many levels and through many channels. The county runs a peasant middle school and technical middle night school. The townships run agricultural technology schools and the villages run peasant education and technical night schools. They also encourage the specialized households to run training classes and by 1984, the ratio of illiterate or semiliterate young peasants had fallen from 40.2 percent in 1978 to 25 percent. Also the ratio of peasants with junior middle school education grew by 78 percent over 1978 and over 60,000 peasants had received technical training. In the last few years, Jiamusi city in Heilongjiang has trained a total of 550,000 peasants, 70 percent of the rural labor force. Of these people 80,000 became peasant technologists or leaders of scientific and technological specialized households. Also, there are many villages which are quite rich in terms of collective economic strengths and which used some of their industrial and sideline industry income to aid children in going to school so that they have quite good conditions in terms of being able to receive education. Some people estimate that one-quarter of our nation's increased agricultural output in the last few years has come as a result of scientific and technical progress. This figure may perhaps not be accurate but the great roles that science and technology have played in rural economic development cannot be doubted. According to an investigation in Sichuan Province, through training peasants to master science and technology, income could be increased by 20 percent. Facts have shown that paying attention to investment in intellect is a long-term view.

However, there are now still many comrades engaged in rural work who lack a sufficiently deep understanding of the situation whereby the quality of the peasants does not accord with the demands of economic development. They are too busy with the immediate economic work, have not placed the building of spiritual civilization on the agenda and begrudge using money on intellectual investment. According to 1984 statistics of a relevant department, there are still 300 counties throughout the country which do not have libraries, half of the townships do not have cultural centers, one-quarter of villages cannot receive television and one-third of villages cannot receive radio broadcasts. In some areas, the school-entry rate in village primary and middle schools has dropped and the drop-out rate has increased. Long-standing illiteracy has not yet been wiped out and new illiteracy is appearing. In 1984, the average per capita livelihood consumption expenditure in villages throughout the nation was 273 yuan, while the amount spent on cultural life service was only 6.5 yuan. This situation deserves attention. If peasants cannot read books and newspapers or have no access to them, and cannot hear broadcasts, then there will be no way for them to understand the principles and policies of the central authorities, there will be no way to master advanced technology, and they will be unable to understand the various types of information. How then will they be able to develop production and become prosperous? In our country, the foundations are poor, funds are tight and expenditure needs to be carefully monitored.

Intellectual investment is a factor which has long-term benefits and we should, as far as possible, increase investment in this. In situations where money can be spent or saved, we should do our best to conserve it. At present, many areas are going in for large-scale construction and erecting all sorts of buildings. "Hospitality" has become the order of the day and people go in for eating and drinking in a big way. However, when it comes to investment in intellect, they will not put any money into it. This situation needs to be changed as quickly as possible.

Improving the quality of the peasants involves many areas. Our aim is to train socialist new-style peasants who have ideals, ethics, culture, and discipline. These four aspects are interrelated and promote each other. Adhering to the socialist road, establishing socialist spiritual and moral customs, loving the country, concerning oneself with the collective, positively participating in socialist construction, correctly handling the relationship between the individual, the state, and the collective and adhering to discipline and the law--these are the political qualities which every peasant should possess. In this respect, our party is faced with arduous tasks in ideological and political work. Some areas do not pay attention to building spiritual civilization and while the peasants are materially well-off they are spiritually "poor." Some peasants, when their income increases, do not use it to expand reproduction and appropriately improve life. Rather, they use it on extraordinary consumption such as for making a big thing of weddings and funerals, employing geomancers and building temples, having gambling sessions and so on. In some areas, political work has been relaxed, feudal superstition reactionary sects and societies and feudal clan activities have appeared, and even speculation and profiteering, tax evasion, bribery, graft and embezzlement, swindling and other such evil practices have gained ground. Facts have proven that at the same time as we engage in enlivening the economy, we must also grasp tightly ideological and political work and the building of spiritual civilization. We can never relax in this. However, in its contents and methods, we must accord with the needs of the four modernizations and carry out reform. Lenin said: We cannot use "old-style propaganda techniques" to "elucidate and provide examples to explain communism." Rather, we "need to make clear in practice how we should build socialism. All propaganda work should be built on the political experience of economic construction." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 370) If our ideological and political work is just general principles spoken of in an empty fashion and is not linked up with education in culture and science and technology, and improving the level of the peasants' cultural and scientific knowledge, then it will be very difficult to realize effective results.

In the training of peasants, various areas have accomplished some experiences in practice over the last few years. The key lies in whether cadres give the matter real attention or just pay lip service to it. We must make it a strategic task, place it on the work agenda, obtain necessary personnel and financial resources, adopt various levels, various channels and various forms, motivate strengths in various areas and have the state, the collectives and individuals contribute their efforts together. Apart from regular schools, we must widely run part-time schools, night schools, winter schools and all

sorts of short-term specialized training classes. We must fully bring into play the roles of scientific research units, specialized tertiary institutes, technology propagation stations, cultural centers and all sorts of science and technology associations, educated specialized households and science and technology demonstration households. Further, we should fully utilize newspapers and periodicals, books, broadcasts, television and other media tools in order to make common efforts to spread and improve the cultural and scientific and technological levels in the rural areas. Of course, we must proceed in accordance with local conditions and go about things in a positive and reliable way. We must not engage in formalism or adopt a haughty manner. We cannot hand down compulsory orders or arbitrarily apportion work between the peasants. Our nation has already promulgated the Compulsory Education Law and formulated the "Spark Plan." Only if all sides pay this great attention and carry out work in a down-to-earth way will it be possible within a few years to achieve an obvious improvement in the quality of the peasants. If we are to realize the situation where every one of our nation's 180 million rural households has a person with an educational level of junior middle school or above and specialized scientific and technical knowledge, then on this base, we will be able to gradually realize the situation where all young members of the labor force are graduates of an agricultural middle school. In this way, our rural areas will indeed take on a new appearance!

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PRACTICE IN CREATIVE WORK AND THEORIES FOR CREATIVE WORK--DISCUSSION WITH  
COMRADE LIU ZAIFU

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[Article by Yao Xueyin [1202 7185 0995]--written at Tongshan's Fengchi mountain villa, Hubei Province, in September 1986]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China's literature and art front has been thriving as never before. This has found expression in two ways: First, literary works are flourishing and numerous talented young and middle-aged writers have come to the fore, like a galaxy of radiant stars; second, with a hundred schools of thought contending, theories of literature and art are distinguished for their lively thinking.

Faced with such a situation in the literary and art circles, as an old writer going on 80, I am not only excited but also aware that I am lagging behind. My knowledge, in particular, fails to keep pace with the development of literature and art theories. I even fail to understand, or just have a hazy notion of, some theoretical articles, finding them abstruse and hard to understand. Such things have rarely happened during my several decades of study, but this has become a phenomenon and reality that I cannot skirt around. I cannot help but heave a sigh for my backwardness.

In the current new situation, in an attempt to remedy my backwardness to a certain extent, I have decided to adopt two approaches: First, to learn more from people younger than I and, second, to learn more from theoreticians. Naturally, I should not follow other people blindly but should carry out my studies in a deliberate, selective, and critical way. Contention, that is, being openly critical of teachers, is a positive approach to studying. It is precisely with the above-mentioned approach that I write this thesis to consult Comrade Liu Zaifu on the question of practice in, and theories for, creative work.

I. The Theory on the Two "Laws" Does Not Conform to Practice in Creative Work

I have a simple and basic requirement for literature and art theory (in fact, it is not limited to literature and art), that is, all good theories for creative work should come from, and be able to return to, practice. When I

say that a theory should come from practice, I mean that, after examining or summing up the rich creative practice of our predecessors and contemporaries, we come to understand certain laws governing creative work and then raise this general understanding to a theory. When I say that a theory should have practical application, I mean that a theory should conform to reality and be useful and that it should be able to stand the test of social practice. To be specific, whether or not a new theory can hold water depends on whether or not it can be used to guide our creative work and to help us understand, analyze, and study the works of ancient, modern, or contemporary writers rather than depending only on the subjective desire of a theoretician. This is called the social test. My requirement for literature and art theory can also be regarded as my criterion for judging the value of a theory. In appearance, this is a "platitude." However, it is a conclusion that I have drawn from experience gained in several decades of creative work. Therefore, at a time when new theories are becoming so bizarre as to dazzle the eyes, despite the risk of being ridiculed as a laggard, I am ready to value my old experience.

In discussing the new trend of literature and art theory in recent years, Comrade Liu Zaifu holds that its most important feature is that it represents "a shift from the outside to the inside, that is, a shift from concentrating on examining the external law governing literature to profoundly studying the internal law governing literature." What is the "external law" governing literature? Comrade Liu Zaifu says:

"In previous literary studies we laid particular emphasis on the external law, namely, the relationship between literature and the economic base, as well as other ideologies in the superstructure, such as the relationships between literature and politics and between literature and social life, writers' world outlooks and methods of creation, and so on."

What is the "internal law" governing literature? Comrade Liu Zaifu says:

"In recent years the focus of our studies has moved to the internal law, that is, studying the aesthetic features of literature itself, the mutual links in the various essential factors of literature, the structural patterns and the laws of motion of the various categories of literature, and so on. In short, this means returning to itself."

That is what Comrade Liu Zaifu says in reference to the so-called "defects" in our previous studies of literary theory and the so-called "new trend" in the current literary studies. It is not a discussion of the methods of literary creation. But it involves a fundamental issue of literary creation. Therefore, I place it in the category of the theory of literary creation and discuss it first.

Comrade Liu Zaifu divides the entity of law governing literature into two parts, the "external law" and the "internal law," and favors shifting our attention from the study of the "external law" to that of the "internal law." This viewpoint is open to question. According to the Marxist viewpoint, the relationships between literature and economy, between literature and life,



and between the world outlook of writers and their methods of creation determine the essence of literature and, therefore, belong to the law governing literature. If we stray from this in discussing literature's "return to itself" and its "internal law," we have obviously departed from the most fundamental things.

In my view, what Comrade Liu Zaifu refers to as literature's "external law" and "internal law" are, in fact, a unified and inseparable organic whole. The specific theories for, or methods of, guiding the creation and study of literary works and history of literature, derive from this basic understanding and prove effective in practice.

During the more than 3,000-year history of Chinese literature, starting in the early years of the Western Zhou Dynasty to the contemporary history period, a tremendous number of literary works have been written. They are all the fruits of creative practice by writers in ancient and modern times. In putting forth a new theory, we should proceed from practice, which includes examples of practice and various experiences in ancient and modern times.

If instead of regarding various conditions of literature as an organic entity, we rigidly divide the law governing literature into an "external law" and an "internal law," one-sidedly stressing the "internal law" and pursuing the so-called literature's "return to itself," we would not be able to understand the literary works of our predecessors. For example, if we do not understand the socioeconomic developments of the Warring States period, that is: the activities and roles of councillors under the political conditions of that time; the crisscross relationships of Qin, Qi, and Chu, the three major states of the Qu Yuan period; the newborn trends of "political reform"; the degeneration and stupidity of the ruling clique in the state of Chu and the sharp contradiction between Qu Yuan and this clique, the story of how Chu, a previously powerful state, was deceived by Zhang Yi politically and defeated by Qin militarily; Qu Yuan's political activities, stand, attitude, ideas, and feelings, as well as the blows and setbacks he suffered in the complex environment at that time; and the features of Chu's culture, ideology, and folk literature, then how can we understand the significance, background, and artistic features of Qu Yuan's outstanding poems, such as "Li Sao" [Encountering Sorrow], "Jiu Ge" [Nine Songs], and "Jiu Zhang" [Nine Poems]? The conditions mentioned above profoundly affected the contents of Qu Yuan's poems and their artistic forms. It was precisely due to these conditions that Qu Yuan could bring into full play the "subjective activity" of his poetic talent. If the above-mentioned conditions (in the eyes of Comrade Liu Zaifu, they are the external law governing literature) had been removed, Qu Yuan would not have become the first great poet in the history of Chinese literature.

Let us take Wang Wei, an outstanding poet of the Tang Dynasty, as another example. Each of Wang Wei's Wang Chuan poems represents a sparkling jewel in the treasure house of Chinese poems. There has been vulgar sociology on our literary front, but I have never seen a person with a general knowledge of the Marxist theory of literature and art who simplifies things

to such an extent as to refrain from analyzing the various conditions leading to the production of Wang Chuan poems, as well as their special artistic achievements, or to simply comment that the development of the landlord manor economy gave rise to Wang Wei's Wang Chuan poems. Wang Wei did not leave behind many poems. In terms of quantity, he could not be compared with Li Bai, Du Fu, or Bai Juyi. In the early days he wrote poems in praise of the spirit of traveling swordsmen, poems of unique styles and vigorous content, poems of a fresh and lively style and expressing a longing for a haven of peace, and so on. It was only in his later years that he wrote Wang Chuan poems and compiled them into a "Collection of Wang Chuan Poems." His villa at Wangkou formerly belonged to poet Song Zhiwen. But why was it Wang Wei, and not Song Zhiwen, who wrote the Wang Chuan poems? In my view, it was due to the following conditions: 1) Suffering serious political setbacks in his later years, Wang Wei was less enthusiastic about life after his retirement from public life. 2) Buddhism exerted a profound influence on his world outlook, his outlook on life, and his attitude toward life in his later years. 3) He was an outstanding landscape painter and was regarded as the founder of the southern school of landscape paintings in later ages. His life and his poetic and painting styles had a unified aesthetic appeal. As some people put it, there are images in his poems and poems in his images. 4) By the time of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the form of a poem with five characters to a line had been used considerably in terms of artistry, and particularly in the choice of words. Considerable development had also been attained in landscape poems, with Xie Tiao as the representative, in the use of poems with five characters to a line to describe scenery. Moreover, the less intensive style of the pastoral poetry school represented by Tao Yuanming drew people's attention from the earliest days of the Tang Dynasty to the period of full literary grandeur in the Tang Dynasty. In writing the Wang Chuan poems, Wang Wei took another big step forward from what had been achieved by the predecessors. 5) Meng Haoran, a great poet of the same period, also wrote pastoral poems and, together with Wang Wei, was called "Wang Meng" in later ages. But they did not belong to the same strata in the feudal landlord class. Their different social lives, political experiences, outlooks on life, and artistic accomplishments provided their pastoral poems with distinct features. 6) In later years Wang Wei lived in Wangkou, where the Wang Chuan flowed under his villa, and which had a bamboo islet and a sunken flower-bed. He often went boating on the river, visiting Pei Di, a Taoist priest, playing qin [a seven-stringed plucked instrument in some ways similar to the zither], or composing and reciting poems. 7) Being highly talented, Wang Wei could write very good poems in his teens. Both poems and paintings were first-rate. He also knew about music. We can see his talent from his poems.

The seven aspects I mention above do not stand in isolation. In my view, in studying the ideas and artistic achievements of a relatively accomplished writer in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere, we should examine his overall conditions and place his everyday living environment, ideas, feelings, cultural accomplishments, and historical factors in an important position. This is a common method applied by modern Chinese scholars in studying the history of literature and classical writers. It includes both the historical materialist ideas and the objective laws governing literary

creation and the history of literature. I hope my readers will not entertain the preconceived ideas of "blazing new trails," "sticking to old ways," and so on, but will calmly compare the above-mentioned traditional methods of conducting scholarly research, which contain materialist ideas, with the theoretical methods of what Comrade Liu Zaifu called the "internal law" governing literature, that is, "returning to itself," and see which ones can solve practical problems and stand the test of social practice.

Comrade Liu Zaifu opposes the oversimplified theory of the economic base deciding everything, the vulgar sociology, and the various "leftist" dogmatist theories in literature and art theory. Regarding the mistakes made in China's new literary movement over the past half century and more and the roundabout course taken, I also take a critical and opposing attitude. The difference is that, in my view, although in modern and contemporary literary movements there has been interference from vulgar sociology and "leftist" dogmatism, which even caused disasters in certain periods, there have always been correct or relatively correct Marxist literature and art thought resisting and fighting against erroneous ideas and there have never been the phenomena of leaning to one side. In his article, Comrade Chen Yong cited Lu Xun as an example. Lu Xun was of course a great banner and the commander of the new literary movement but a large number of writers and theoreticians also resisted the erroneous ideas and carried out the struggle. For example, from some of the "rightist speeches" of people in the literature and art circles from the second half of 1956 to the first half of 1957 we can see the intensity of the struggle between the two ideas. Even in the period from 1957 to the "Great Cultural Revolution," there were also writers and theoreticians who, under extremely difficult conditions, upheld the Marxist philosophical and literature and art thought and made contributions. In certain historical stages, although vulgar sociology and "leftist" dogmatism caused a temporary clamor and even introduced this erroneous idea by organizational and political means, they were unscientific and unpopular and did not conform to the law governing literature and art creation. For this reason, they did not have strong vitality. At certain times, although the genuinely Marxist literature and art thought is suppressed or attacked and although the people adhering to it do not make up the great majority, it has strong vitality and is a major force in the history of China's literature and art movement.

Over the past several decades, on the question of literature and art creation we have put forward some principles. We should uphold them since they prove to be rational in practice. We should also uphold some formulations which, after being revised, retain their vitality. For example, life is the source of literature and art creation; writers should plunge into the thick of life; and writers should have socialist and communist ideological consciousness. These principles are not outdated. The previous principle of "political criterion first and artistic criterion second" proved to be defective in practice. However, since the slogan "writers should create works combining a high ideological level with high artistic quality" was raised a long time ago, the principle has not become outdated. The slogan "literature and art should serve politics" also proves to be defective in practice. After it is changed into "serving the people and socialism," it is entirely correct. All

these are general principles or slogans. There are also slogans or requirements raised in light of a specific period or aspect. For example, in the current age of reform we call on people to describe life and advanced people in the reform process; we call on people engaging in military literature to portray combat heroes and patriotic heroic models. It is correct to set these demands on literature. However, these requirements are related to the economic base, social life, the world outlook and creative methods of writers, and the needs and the fundamental interests of the people. If we hold that they belong to the "external law" of literature "itself," that they have lost their great significance, and that "the focus of our studies has moved to the internal laws," does not this mean that the above-mentioned indispensable principles, requirements, and slogans of socialist literary creation can be scrapped altogether? What merits our attention is that there is indeed a tendency to become divorced from life, to treat politics with indifference, and to be infatuated with artistry in creative work and some works have been published which nobody can understand and which do take account of social benefit. These circumstances also show, from a negative aspect, that stressing only the need to explore the "internal law" is not an example to be followed.

## II. Characters in Literary Works Should Never Cast Off the Restrictions of the Objective Environment

In his article "On the Identities of Literature," Comrade Liu Zaifu put forward many new concepts. One of them is that, when discussing writers as individuals [ren de zhu ti 0086 4104 0031 7555], he endlessly exaggerates their subjective activity and, when discussing the object of writing, that is, the characters in novels, he again endlessly exaggerates the subjective activity of the characters. For example, he has said with deep emotion:

"For a fairly long time, the phenomena of losing the identities have extensively happened in Chinese literature. For this reason, we should explore the return and confirmation of literary identities and the methods to achieve it."

This assertion of Comrade Liu Zhaifu's on the history of the development of Chinese modern and contemporary literature is indeed too subjective and arbitrary. Then, what does Comrade Liu Zaifu mean when he says that it is necessary to explore the "return and confirmation of literary identities and the methods to achieve it" regarding the characters in novels? He has discussed the question at great length in his article but the main points are as follows:

"A writer gives the characters under his pen the status of subjects and bestows on them the image of subjects--regarding the characters under his pen as people with independent personalities and as living people with independent ideas and personal values, that is, as people acting and working according to their own souls and logic rather than as playthings or idols at the disposal of others. We recognize that they, whether they are the so-called 'positive characters' or 'negative ones,' exist as the subject of practice and spirit, that is, we take people as the foundation."

The meaning of this paragraph is abstruse. After reading it two or three times, I realize that the reason for its abstruseness lies in the fact that Comrade Liu Zaifu has departed from the practice of creative work and from practical conditions, which should be taken as our theoretical basis, as indicated by the history of literature. In establishing a new theory, he has based himself on wishful thinking and turned an otherwise extremely common, simple, and plain truth into an abstruse one. This is perhaps the most distinguishing feature of Comrade Liu Zaifu's new theory. But it is also his fatal weak point because these abstruse and seemingly new and original arguments contain the essence of subjective materialism.

According to the experience provided by the history of literature and our own experience in creative practice, even if, under the pen of writers, the characters in novels are vivid and "lifelike," it is absolutely impossible for them to act freely "according to their own souls and logic." Cao Xueqin gave a vivid picture of the young boys and girls in the "Dream of the Red Chamber" but none of them could break away from their historical conditions and act freely. Moreover, they had personalities and lived only in the specific environment of the Grand Garden. Xi Ren and Shi Xiangyun were the two girls given strong personalities and vividly described by the author, but it was only in the specific environment of the Grand Garden that they could be described animatedly. Jia Baoyu, Lin Daiyu, Xue Baochai, and Wang Xifeng were all characters with strong vitality. However, their actions and ideas could not but be restricted by the historical conditions of a feudal society and the specific environment of the Jia Mansion. None of them could transcend the conditions provided by the specific history and society, nor could the author himself, the "god" that created these characters. A Q did not act freely; he was even executed for no reason. Wu Sunfu did not act freely either. However, due to the intrigue among the capitalists, he was harmed even by his brother-in-law. Can we draw an inference from these examples that, instead of being successful figures, these typical characters in Chinese literature were only playthings in the hands of writers, the lost identities of characters? In my view, exaggerating the identities of characters in novels runs counter to the science of art. It is an arbitrarily fabricated new argument.

Those readers who have read the first three volumes of my novel "Li Zicheng" already published and some parts of Volume 5 carried in some publications know that there are many characters in this novel, and quite a few characters having strong personalities have even been called typical characters by the readers and critics. However, all the characters I portrayed were subject to two restrictions: First, they were handicapped by the complex historical conditions (environments) and second, they were handicapped by my historical knowledge, philosophical ideas, and creative approach and methods. Mutually permeating and interweaving, the two restrictive forces jointly, and not independently, play a restrictive role on characters.

For example, in portraying Emperor Chongzhen as a typical character and describing his political life, private life, psychological activities, and mental outlook, I placed him in a specific, concrete, and historic environment of a court life toward the end of the Ming Dynasty. I wanted him to

accurately reflect history; I gave him neither excessive "independence" nor free movement beyond the typical environmental conditions. Otherwise, he would not have been the emperor of a conquered nation who played the part of a tragic character in history; he would not have been "this" Emperor Chongzhen. Why do not I give the characters in my novel unlimited free movement? This is because nobody can transcend historical conditions either in the past or at present. Nobody can live outside the conditions provided by history or environment. People always live in a specific historical condition and history is always conditioned by the mutual restrictions of extremely complicated material and spiritual conditions and affected by the extremely complicated and constantly changing causality. When writing historical novels in the second half of my life, I always combine my literary creative thinking with my historical philosophical thinking. I always abide by the materialist theory of reflection and reject subjective idealism.

Instead of proceeding from the actual conditions in studying the histories of Chinese ancient, modern, and contemporary literature, Comrade Liu Zaifu has arbitrarily established a subjective argument, holding that the serious problem in China's previous literary works lies in the loss of "identities of object of literature," which is reflected, first and foremost, in the use of the "environment-decides-everything theory" to deny the history of the character's personality. In a very mysterious manner he said:

"Man is capable of self-accomplishment, self-portrayal, and self-realization. Man's identities are to fully develop his regulatory and creative ability in the conditions (including both smooth and adverse ones) provided by the objective world. The tremendous transcending power of man toward the environment often finds expression in his suspicious, independent, and creative ideas and in his imaginative power and his sense of the universe and history, which are not handicapped by the environment. Naturally, it also finds expression in his willpower to transform the environment and his spirit of transformation. In this respect, however, the contemporary Chinese literary concept tends to mechanically stress the decisive role of the object toward the subject and even to use the 'environment-decides-everything theory' to explain a typical disposition in a typical environment. For this reason, most of the characters portrayed by the writers lack the history of their dispositions. With the exception of deified heroes capable of controlling everything, the rest are predestined wretches controlled by certain external forces."

At first glance, I was a little at a loss. I did not think Comrade Liu Zaifu had come to the point. As far as I could remember, ever since the 1930's, none of the important writers or theoreticians has ever published important theses, discussing at great length the "environment-decides-everything theory." After reading Comrade Liu Zaifu's article carefully, I realized what his remark was aiming at. It seemed that it was aimed at Engels' well-known saying: "a typical disposition in a typical environment."



Can the characters portrayed by a writer in his novel transcend their typical environments and eras? What is meant by the "history of dispositions" of characters? As far as I understand it, the dispositions of characters are given by writers. Without the writer's typical portrayal of characters based on practical life, it will be impossible to make clear what the "history of dispositions" of characters is.

In line with my writing practice, the process of creation can generally be divided into three stages. By engaging in various practice, chiefly by plunging into the thick of life and observing life (including all kinds of people in action in society) a writer conceives an idea of the objective social life, which can be used as material for creation in the initial stage. This is the first stage in the writing of a novel. Based on the material at his disposal, the writer should continue enriching it and, at the same time, deepen his understanding, artistically concentrate and generalize it, and form relatively definite images of characters in his mind, the main, vivid plot, and some relatively conspicuous artistic details. This is the second stage in the writing of a novel. At this stage, the writer does not stop reflecting social life in his mind. This finds expression in two ways: On the one hand, through mental labor the writer continuously deepens and enriches his understanding of the practical social life; on the other hand, the writer strives to make the characters in the novel, the plot, and the artistic detail more mature and to provide many of the characters with more stereoscopic value, more personalities, and more vigor. When this stage is reached, the writer can generally start writing.

The third or last stage of the creative process begins when the writer starts writing and ends when the book is completed. The writer goes on carrying out the task of reflecting social life and, therefore, he always preserves the lively subjective activity in his mind. He continuously alternates logical thinking with thinking in images. He keeps on absorbing nourishment from the objective social life and deepening, enriching, and perfecting his portrayal. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary for the writer to constantly deliberate and revise his manuscript and, sometimes, to learn and observe once again from real life and to replenish his material. This is the inevitable outcome of upholding the materialist theory of reflection, embodying its dynamic role and the law governing cognitive activities in the reflection of objective things.

In this creative practice, the writer is always the subject of creation while the characters in the novel are the outcome or object of the writer's creation. After the characters in the novel are vividly presented, they will in turn affect the writer's artistic concepts. But this is not the principal aspect. The dynamic roles of characters in literary works are limited.

Comrade Liu Zaifu holds that characters can shake off a writer's control and carry out "self-accomplishment, self-portrayal, and self-realization." This argument is not based on creative practice or experience but on wishful thinking. He also says: "The tremendous transcending power of man toward



the environment often finds expression in his suspicious, independent, and creative ideas and in his imaginative power, which are not subject to the fetter of the environment, and in his sense of the universe and history." Viewed from the context, these words clearly refer to characters in literary works. In truth, living in a certain historical condition or environment, no writers can have such attributes as a "tremendous transcending power" divorced from reality. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, the 1 billion Chinese people are engaging in the four modernizations program with the aim of achieving a takeoff. Nevertheless, we are still tied down by feudal ideas of every description, are subject to the corrosion of bourgeois ideas, and are restricted by various conditions, such as under-developed education, a dearth of scientists, inextensive socialist democracy, imperfect legal system, and energy shortage. We can only stress seeking truth from facts and we cannot talk about the so-called "transcending power" as we please. As for the characters in novels, which are a reflection of practical life and which are portrayed by writers from practical life, it is all the more impossible for them to have such mysterious attributes as described by Comrade Liu Zaifu.

Here, we can also discuss the question of man and historical conditions.

Naturally, heroes and geniuses can create history but, in the last analysis, they are still handicapped by the historical conditions. Of the historical figures in modern and contemporary times, I admire Sun Yat-sen most. He struggled for more than 40 years. However, handicapped by the historical conditions, he did not succeed in the revolution when he died. As a heroic figure, he was tinted with a fairly pronounced tragic color. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great thinker, politician, military strategist, and outstanding poet. Despite his remarkable talent, he still failed to shake off the influence of the small peasant economy and feudal history, as well as the personality cult prevailing in the world. As a result, he made serious mistakes in his later years, causing great losses to the party and state.

In the literature and art field, we can easily cite countless instances to prove that geniuses are handicapped by historical conditions in creating history. Tu Fu made great contributions to China's poetry. However, he could do so only in the prime of the Tang Dynasty and not in its early years, still less in the Northern and Southern Dynasties. "Dream of the Red Chamber" could only appear in the 18th century, not in the 16th century. In his times Lu Xun was a great cultural champion and made immortal contributions. Thirty years earlier or later, there would not have been a Lu Xun.

Not only is this true for the laws governing literature, but it also holds true for the laws governing various arts. Take calligraphy as an example. From the middle period of the Qing Dynasty on, epigraphy was vigorously developed, and carved stones since the Han and Qin Dynasties, the particularly numerous records of events inscribed on tablets and inscriptions on statues as well as the inscriptions on drum-shaped stone blocks of the earlier periods were given unprecedentedly great attention. New discoveries were increasing in number and more and more scholars gathered and studied their rubbings, thus providing conditions for the rise of new schools of

calligraphy. The characteristics of calligraphy during the whole late period of the Qing Dynasty from the Jiaqing to Daoguang emperors were that the study of calligraphic models for copying was on the decline while the study of inscriptions on tablets was on the rise. In the new historical conditions, such great creative calligraphers as Deng Shiru, Zhao Zhiqian, Bao Shichen, Wu Changshuo, Zhang Yuzhao, and Kang Youwei came to the fore. Some of them lived to the republican years. Their accomplishments in calligraphy surpassed those of any calligraphers of the early Qing Dynasty period and of the Ming Dynasty. They all brought their creativity into play under the historical conditions when they lived and not under those before.

Proceeding from subjective idealism, Comrade Liu Zaifu magnified the subjective initiative of writers to the extreme. He said: "It is of vital importance for a writer to realize his own spiritual identity. Realizing his spiritual identity means realizing the great dynamic role inherent in his internal universe. If he realizes that this internal universe is a self-regulating system of infinite creativity, he can bring his power as an individual into the fullest play; this is where the greatness of man lies." Excuse me for speaking bluntly. We have never seen such a writer since time immemorial. On the contrary, what we have seen is that the subjective initiative of a writer is always limited and he cannot depict well life of which he has no intimate understanding. With both great learning and talent, Zao Xuejin failed to depict rural life well. He could not bring into full play his "boundless creativity" in fields of life with which he was unfamiliar, just as Comrade Liu Zaifu said, man's "power as an individual can be brought into the fullest play." As I see it, of China's contemporary writers, none can produce good works by relying on the so-called great subjective initiative as they please and by separating themselves from the way of plunging into the thick of life.

I do not think the realistic method is the only way of creation. However, as far as fiction writing is concerned, if a writer wants to meticulously, profoundly, and truthfully depict life and further portray the typical features of characters from trifling matters of everyday life, it must be admitted that the realistic method of creation is the best of all. Of Comrade Liu Zaifu's new theory and the realistic method of creation, which is of greater significance to the development of our literary creation?

### III. Who Dominates the Process of Creation?

When dealing with methods of creative writing, Comrade Liu Zaifu one-sidedly exaggerated the infinite dynamic initiative of characters, living "identities" under his pen. In discussing the relationship between writers and their characters, he wrote:

"If writers place themselves in the position of God and just want to dominate the fates of the characters under their pens and fail to give their characters the status of subject, in the process of creation, they are bound to concentrate on the so-called 'painstaking designing' and even to design every detail painstakingly. Every word and act of their characters is designed a priori and all is within the writers' framework and their a priori

explanations by means of images. In reality this does not mean that the writers 'create' with all their hearts and souls but instead means that they sedulously 'create' according to given concepts. Such writers are at best artisans in the arts with certain skills rather than writers of natural talent. Their creation is bound to be devoid of good reason, expression, and intelligence."

This viewpoint of Comrade Liu Zaifu completely negates the materialist theory of reflection.

I have expounded the three stages in the course of writing a novel above. Although not detailed, my exposition basically shows the stages one must follow in carrying out creation work. The "painstaking designing" criticized by Comrade Liu Zaifu is in reality the fermentation process of a novel. In other words, as objective realities, social life, and people are reflected in the minds of writers as source materials and constantly processed there and consequently, the images of fictional figures are gradually enriched and sublimated and at the same time, the novel's basically complete artistic structure and main plots will then appear. Every writer with a serious attitude toward creation must undergo a process of "painstaking designing" before he starts writing. In writing their novels, some writers wrote several beginnings in succession before they decided a relatively satisfactory one. Is this repeated writing of a beginning not the repeated designing of the beginning of a writer's novel?

Comrade Liu Zaifu criticized the writers for not putting their characters in the position of "a subject," asserting that writers who concentrated on "painstaking designing" did not "'create' with all their hearts and souls" and that such writers "were at best artisans in the arts with certain skills rather than writers of natural talent." What is regrettable to me is that Comrade Liu Zaifu is not willing to modestly study the practice of creative writing of ancient, modern, and contemporary writers and of course, he has to rely on a heap of nonscientific terms in establishing his theoretical system.

A novel generally contains 200,000 to 300,000 words or more, or some 500,000 words, and a lengthy one contains more than 1 million words. Take my novel "Li Zicheng" as an example. The first three volumes of the novel already off the press contain nearly 2.3 million words. Which novelists can manage to design well every detail of plot and every word and act of the characters before they start writing? Is this possible? On what grounds did Comrade Liu Zaifu base his stern criticism of the writers in this regard?

When it comes to "painstaking designing," Cao Xueqing did "painstaking designing" with his "Dream of the Red Chamber." The ending of the novel he designed is different from that of Gao E's continuation edition of the novel. The author designed with great originality the fates and endings of the main and secondary characters of "Dream of the Red Chamber." I would like to ask, can we say that Cao Xueqing was not a great writer "who created with all his heart and soul" and merely "an artisan in the arts with certain skills at best"?

Beginning in the 1920's up to this day, there have been many outstanding literary works and writers in China that have attracted the great attention of readers. I have been engaged in literary creation for several decades and never heard that in writing a novel, a writer did not need to undergo a repeated fermentation process before starting to write. This repeated fermentation process is just what Comrade Liu Zaifu called "painstaking designing." Can we say these numerous writers whose works glitter in the history of modern and contemporary literature are "artisans in the arts with certain skills at best" as Liu Zaifu termed? Obviously, this is not a fact.

Man is the wisest of all creatures. Man and man alone can create the world, including literature and art, and he alone can engage in physical and spiritual activities with original ideas and will. However, after reading the following passage of Comrade Liu Zaifu's enlightening remarks, I cannot but feel puzzled.

"The respect of a writer for the objects he describes means he gives them a human soul and identities and allows the characters to possess mental mechanisms independent of the writer's will, to act independently according to the revelations of their souls, and to develop themselves in line with the logic of their own dispositions and feelings. Whenever the writer is in best shape psychologically, his characters will be full of individual consciousness and vigorous vitality. By then the writer will be controlled by the latent power of the fully-aroused subjects (the quoter's note: referring to fictional characters) rather than his own will and he will move ahead in the direction of subconsciousness and create 'unexpected' results within the limits of what is perceivable. In other words, the greater a writer's talent, the abler he will become, to endow his characters with the ability as individuals and the stronger the independent nature of his characters will become and in the face of his characters, the writer will become more and more powerless. Hence, there emerged an interesting phenomenon in which the characters created by a writer went out of the control of his will. Many literary theoreticians and critics were puzzled by this interesting phenomenon, as was I for a long time."

These remarks are extremely abstruse. To my surprise, characters that are described vividly in a novel are regarded as objective identities independent of the author's will which have their own individual consciousness and can act according to the revelations of their souls and develop themselves in line with the logic of their own dispositions and feelings. When a writer is in best shape with his creation, he is less controlled by his own will and is instead controlled by the latent power of the characters (objective identities). In all fairness, since the May 4th new literature movement, I have never seen an article on literature and art theory that dealt with subjective realism in such a full way.

As I see it, Comrade Liu Zaifu completely confused the concepts of "the subjective" and "the objective." The relationship of unity of opposites between the subjective and objective is a basic category of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. The subjective refers to man involved in

activities of recognition and when it comes to literary creation, the subjective refers to writers engaged in activities to reflect the objective. Man has the subjective will to understand and change the objective world and the initiative and purposefulness for doing so. All things in the world are matters of objective reality. However, only when they have connections with or are related to man's activities of recognition can they be called the objective. Man with the cognitive initiative and things perceived form the category of recognition of the subjective and objective. To put it briefly, from a Marxist point of view, this philosophic concept of the subjective and objective is simple and clear and not mysterious in the least.

This holds true for literary creation. When a writer comes in contact with the real life (including people) in society, the process of recognition of the objective by the subjective starts. Writers understand objective things in accordance with the dialectical materialist laws. The contact of a writer with social life and people, the shaping of source materials from such contact, the formation of vivid figures in his mind, and the final transformation of such figures into the characters of a novel all form a process of recognition and also a process of vivid reflection. Throughout this process, the writer is the subjective and people are the objective to be understood and reflected. In the process of recognition and reflection, there is no such thing as the change from the objective to the subjective and even replacement of the writer by the objective to dominate the activities of reflection (literary creation). In a novel, there are always many vivid characters with strong individuality. If we follow Comrade Liu Zaifu's theory, in a novel, apart from the writer, who is the subjective, will there not be additional several and even tens of subjectives? If all characters are expected to be dynamic identities that can act beyond the control of the writer and carry out activities on their own will, how can we create them?

I have been engaged in the practical activities of literary creation for several decades and I have never come across such strange phenomenon as Comrade Liu Zaifu described in which a writer is powerless in the face of his characters and must let them act as freely as they please. Nor have I ever heard that any writers with great accomplishments since the May 4th Movement experienced such a phenomenon. Who can cite a living example from the activities of literary creation of the writers we know very well?

However, Comrade Liu Zaifu said that he was "puzzled for a long time" "by the interesting phenomenon." How should we explain this?

In my opinion, Comrade Liu Zaifu's way of thinking is in total violation of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Such a phenomenon has never existed in the world, but Comrade Liu Zaifu fabricated issues in a subjective idealist way only to confuse himself and even went further to exaggerate them, asserting "many literary theoreticians and critics were puzzled by this interesting phenomenon." In our country, which literary theoreticians and critics have ever discovered such "an interesting phenomenon" in the practice of literary creation, if any, a phenomenon puzzling them?

According to Liu Zaifu, now he "has at last come to realize: This phenomenon is precisely an indication that a writer is in a free state in his writing." This "free state" is simply unimaginable. On this basis, Comrade Liu Zaifu summarized his new theory into the following formulas:

"The more competent a writer, the more powerless he will become (over his characters). The more incompetent he is, the greater power he will have to control (his characters). The more successful his works, the more he will be subject to his characters. The more unsuccessful his works, the more easily he will manipulate his characters."

However refreshing, the argument does not conform with the laws governing literary creation. At all times and in all countries, if a writer is powerless over the characters in his works in the course of creation, can this be considered literary creation? Can the writer be considered a gifted writer? Many great writers, such as Cao Xueqing and Nikolayevich Tolstoy, repeatedly revised their novels "Dream of the Red Chamber" and "War and Peace." It can thus be seen that greater writers have the process of creation of their works well in hand from beginning to end. Revision of the plot and details and the dialogue between characters of a novel, if not of the activities of characters, is not unconnected with its characters. Hence, it can be seen that a writer is always the master of his characters rather than "subject to his characters." Comrade Liu Zaifu quoted Nobel Prize for Literature winner Francois Mauriac in proof of his argument. In reality, my attitude toward the Nobel Prize for Literature is to respect instead of blindly worship it. So is my attitude toward famous foreign writers. In judging the remarks of famous foreign writers, we must see on what occasions and to what issues the remarks are made and also whether there is some truth in their remarks and whether they are suited to the realities in China's literary creation. Sometimes, famous foreign writers make one-sided and even absurd remarks. Therefore, we must discriminate among their remarks and decide which to apply. We must not admire one-sidedly the remarks of a certain person as the standard just because he is a famous foreign writer who won the Nobel Prize for Literature.

When writing a novel, a writer may also encounter this phenomenon: Under his pen, a certain character gradually "comes to life" and according to the writer's original plot, he had no plan of letting his characters (male or female) die but he must later let them die and he will even shed tears over their death. This phenomenon does not necessarily mean the characters have become the masters of the activities of creation as Comrade Liu Zaifu explained that a gifted writer is powerless in the face of his characters. In my opinion, in the earliest stage of shaping the characters of a novel, a writer perceives them more in abstract terms. With the gradual progress of his writing and through the description of various details of life, a qualitative change begins to take place in his characters. Hence, the characters have their own dispositions and become alive, and concrete and stereoscopic rather than abstract and flat. The characters are expected to develop in accordance with the writer's original scheme and the living environment given by the novel. I call the latter "the living logic of fiction," which is the reflection of real social life but not the equivalent



of real life, because it is the outcome of the writer's creation and the result of an accumulation of a string of details. Details are the basic elements of the artistic composition of fiction and also of the composition of typical dispositions in a typical environment. The writer breathes life into his characters and controls their growth. This is the first stage in the process of literary creation. When the characters have obtained life literarily, they will develop in line with the writer's intention of creation and also in line with the living logic. As a result, contradictions sometimes arise in the course of the development of the characters. However, since the living scenes and characters are the creation of novelists, they can quite easily be handled. Therefore, the contradictions will on no account escalate to the extent that they become irreconcilable and even that the writer becomes powerless over his characters. Some characters of fiction who were not previously supposed to die actually die later. Is this an indication that writers are manipulated by their characters? Certainly not. When a writer thinks that his characters must die in accordance with the living logic, he will revise his original plan and let them die. However, the writer still firmly controls the details such as in what circumstances or atmosphere and how his characters should die as required to meet his own artistic needs (aesthetics of fiction). In this regard, it is certainly not that the writer is powerless over the characters under his pen but that he must follow the objective living logic and revise his subjective assumptions out of keeping with realities in good time. Comrade Liu Zaifu's assertion that the writer's "painstaking designing" of his fiction is "a priori" is just a wrong judgment.

After I was branded as "an ultraleftist" in the fall of 1957, I began to quietly write "Li Zicheng" while weeping bitterly. Twenty-nine years have since passed, but the whole book has not been completed to this day. The people who are close to me can see that more often than not, I bitterly cried over the plots and the bitter experiences of the characters I created. Take the character Hui Mei for example. There is no account of this character in history books and she is completely my creation. From her first appearance in Volume 1's "Dongguan-Nanyuan Battle," I liked her very much. I depicted her as brave, innocent, beautiful, and boundlessly loyal to the uprising army and very lovely as well. However, to express my historical philosophy and thinking in aesthetics of fiction through Hui Mei's behavior, when starting to write the second volume, I decided that she should die halfway through the novel. For many years since, every time I discussed with others the subsequent plot in which she killed herself, I could not hold back my tears and sometimes I even sobbed for her in the presence of all. When my writing came to the point at which she took her own life, I could not restrain myself from choking with sobs and even cried bitterly. After the third volume of "Li Zicheng" was published, many readers were moved to tears by the "death of Hui Mei." This shows that the character is vividly portrayed. Does this extent of writing mean that characters dominate the process of writing and the writer becomes powerless over his characters? Absolutely not. From beginning to end I had my characters firmly in hand and I handled even the most detailed and specific plots according to the plan I conceived maturely over many years. Only in this way can I meet my own aesthetic requirements. This is my practice of creation and also an



absolute true fact. It is totally at variance with Comrade Liu Zaifu's theory. Without a painstaking designing, I could hardly have fulfilled my task of reflecting historical life and laws and attained my pursuit for aesthetics of fiction.

As one person who is not engaged in the serious study of literary theory, I think that to develop socialist literary theory, literary theoreticians must thoroughly sum up the real developments in the history of literature, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, and concentrate their efforts on the study of the history of culture and literature, ancient and modern. At the same time, they must also sum up the experiences in literary creation of many quite highly accomplished writers in both ancient and modern times, and on this basis, develop the results of their previous theories or establish a new and more scientific literary theory to guide the practice of literary creation. There is no other sound strategy.

#### Concluding Remarks

In the last few years, Comrade Liu Zaifu has published in succession several articles on the dual makeup of dispositions of characters and identities of literature which attracted the attention of the literature and art community and had a considerable influence on young and middle-aged people. Unlike the past ordinary theoretical articles which were not part of any system, his new theory has formed a system. Although Comrade Liu Zaifu claimed to uphold and develop the Marxist viewpoint in literature and art theory and embellished his new theory with quotations from Marxist classical works in some aspects of his new theory, still I have to say that his theory is based on subjective idealism and enriched with Western humanist [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] ideas and therefore, it has not much in common with Marxism. In other words, I think that his theory on literature and art is basically non-Marxist.

The successive publication of Comrade Liu Zaifu's articles has had harmful effects on some young and middle-aged writers and literature and art theory workers. Veteran theoreticians and writers with a deeper understanding of Marxist theory long remained silent over this state of affairs. It was not until the publication of Comrade Chen Yong's article "On Methodology in the Study of Literature and Art" in this year's RED FLAG No 8 that this silent situation was put to an end. As I see it, Comrade Chen Yong's article is a forceful work on Marxist literature and art theory rarely seen in recent years and his style of writing is also simple and strict. In the conclusion of his article he wrote these remarks, which deserve our great attention:

"Only when the renewal of literary concepts is carried out under the ideological guidance of Marxism or is achieved on the ideological basis of Marxism can there possibly be a correct orientation to follow. There is now indeed a small number of people who have thrown aside and even denounced the tenets of Marxism in the name of 'developing' Marxism or 'upgrading' literary concepts. This is no trifling matter. It is a matter that has a bearing on the fate of Marxism and of socialist literature and art in China."

With these remarks, he has pointed out the basic nature and important significance of the current debate. We are now advocating letting a hundred schools of thought contend and free discussion. How can discussions be carried out thoroughly and how can the goal of distinguishing between right and wrong be attained if the relationship between the two sides' theories and Marxism is not revealed, the essence of the two sides' ways of thinking not mentioned, and if the social significance of the current debate is ignored? Therefore, the current debate is of great significance to the healthy development of socialist literature and art. Comrades engaged in literature and art and ideological and theoretical work must attach importance to it.

From the mid-1950's on, in his later years, Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking gradually deviated from Marxism and in many ways, he unintentionally replaced the vivid and vigorous dialectical materialism and historical materialism with subjective idealism. This could not but cause serious consequences. One of them is that a crisis of faith in Marxism and the socialist system occurred among some young and middle-aged people and in the literature and art world, some young and middle-aged writers and theoreticians had confused ideas about, doubted, and wavered on Marxist theory on literature and art. Of course, they are not responsible for this. They are the victims of an erroneous era.

In the last few years, we have scored tangible results in our economic structural reform and also made rapid progress in the educational reform and construction. China has abruptly moved from a closed to an open society, ideological and cultural imprisonment has been shattered in favor of a new notion of attaching increasing importance to developing socialist democracy, and an atmosphere characterized by creative and academic freedom has taken shape. This, coupled with problems left from history for many years and new changes in other fields of endeavor, has complicated the situation in the ideological sphere. This phenomenon is unavoidable and normal. On no account must we refuse to eat for fear of choking. In any era, lively thinking, the free airing of varied opinions, and the simultaneous development of a hundred schools of thought, each vying with the others in airing their own views, making explorations, and engaging in pursuits in wider fields of endeavor are signs of prosperity worth rejoicing. In these circumstances, our attitude toward the emergence, if any, of any ideological trend to depreciate, distort, or negate Marxism in the fields of philosophy and literature and art thinking must be that first, we should view it as an inevitable phenomenon over which we should not make a fuss and second, instead of remaining silent, Marxists should boldly and forcefully debate and deepen together their understanding of Marxist theory through debates and propagate it among the vast numbers of readers.

Beginning in the twenties, under the guidance of Marxism, the Chinese people engaged in bloody battles and, after more than 2 decades of extreme hardships and difficulties, succeeded in liberating China. After the founding of the PRC, we made mistakes, even serious ones, whenever we departed from the basic Marxist tenets or looked upon a few isolated words or phrases of Marxism as dogma. In the future, in building a powerful, modern socialist state with 1 billion people, Marxism will remain our guiding ideology.

Without Marxism there would be neither new China nor genuine socialism. Naturally, Marxism should be further developed. However, the basic tenets which have been proved to be true by revolutionary practice in the past 100 years and more must be studied and upheld and, on this basis, developed prudently. At present, all the world is closely following China's economic and political restructuring and its rapid progress. Likewise, the trends of our literary creation and theory will certainly draw the growing attention of the world. It is hoped that the current debate on the literature and art theoretical front will exert a favorable influence on the establishment of a socialist literature and art theory with Chinese characteristics.

I did not engage in theoretical work in the past. What with my advanced age and what with the previously fixed writing task that had not been finished, I was so worried that I originally did not want to be involved in a theoretical debate. After reading Comrade Liu Zaifu's thesis, however, I felt as if I had a fishbone in my throat and could not rest until I spat it out. In my view, not only is Comrade Liu Zaifu's article "On the Identities of Literature," but also his "dual combinatorial theory on the dispositions of characters," which has been commended by many people and which is quite influential in the literary and art circles, permeated with subjective idealism. Theoretically, his "dual combinatorial theory on the dispositions of characters" discards the materialist theory of reflection and the basic principle that practice is the source of cognition and exclusively deals with concepts. Using this theory to solve the complicated phenomena in literary creation and to explain literary works is like scratching an itch from outside one's boot. How can the "dual combinatorial theory" guide creative work? How can writers find the combination of positive and negative dispositions in all heroic and advanced figures? I venture to adopt a negative attitude toward the so-called "dual combinatorial theory on the dispositions of characters" amid much applause for it. But I do not want to dwell more on this theoretical issue today.

Finally, I would like to reaffirm that although I take exception to Comrade Liu Zaifu's theory, I have not changed my basic attitude that professional writers should learn from theoreticians. As Han Yu put it: "A teacher is a person who propagates the doctrines of ancient sages, gives lessons, or removes doubts." Asking theoreticians questions is also a useful method of studying.

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BE 'SOMEONE TO BE PROUD OF' RATHER THAN A 'PAMPERED CHILD'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 38-39

[Article by Guo Zhibin [6753 1807 2430], chairman of the Research Students Association of the Central China Normal University]

[Text] Among the people of our nation, there is a saying: "Poor families bring up pampered children." The meaning is that the mothers and fathers in some poor families love their children enormously, and although their lives may be extremely difficult and they have to economize in expenditure on themselves, they do everything they can to satisfy the demands of their children. Although the things which the children receive are in fact less than what the children in prosperous families receive, they are still treated the best of anyone in the family and are seen as the "pampered children" of the family. I feel that it is quite apt to use this saying as a metaphor for the position of the present generation of students in our still economically undeveloped socialist motherland.

When poor families love their "pampered child," it is intended to create good conditions for them and to allow them to mature quickly. However today we often find the following types of "pampered child": Either they are happy and pleased to have their special position as a "pampered child" and forget to fulfill their obligations in respect of helping their family shake off poverty and become prosperous; or because they are pampered, they take advantage of this and make various unrealistic demands on their fathers and mothers and, whenever they do not get their own way, they complain that the family cannot fulfill its obligations and sigh that their birth must have been a mistake; or they achieve a little progress and get dizzy with success. They then put all their results down to their own struggle and forget the nurturing they received from their parents; or they envy the wealth of the neighbors and day and night worry about throwing off poverty and becoming prosperous. These sort of "pampered children" should not be the images of our present generation of young students.

If one is not to be a "pampered child" and unworthy of the nurturing one has received from one's "poor family," then one must develop a "poor family" heart. I am a research student specializing in the teaching of economics. In the last few years, through carrying out a comparison of teaching resources both at home and abroad, I have come to deeply realize how much painstaking care and

money the state expends in training us. Our population is huge and the economy is not developed. However, in order to develop education, the state is putting efforts into gradually increasing investment in education. Educational departments, for many years, regardless of the expenditure difficulties, have always given special consideration to tertiary education in the allocation of funds. According to relevant statistics, in Japan, the United States, England, Germany, Switzerland, and France, the maximum ratio of money expended on primary school students annually as compared to money expended on students in tertiary institutes is 1:6. In our nation it is 1:111.5. It should be said that this ratio is irrational and should be changed in future. However, we can appreciate from this the importance the state attaches to university students, the state's urgent need for skilled personnel and the state's great love for its "pampered children." Because of our environment, we are often able to see the disparities between our nation and an economically developed nation more clearly than can young people at other levels. However, we certainly cannot, because of this, cold-shoulder our own motherland. Quite the reverse--we should obtain changes and vigorated strength from this disparity.

If one is not to be a "pampered child," then one must put efforts into improving oneself, so that one becomes a useful asset for the "poor family." We are a self-confident generation, a generation rich in ideals and brave in blazing new trails. At the same time, we should soberly realize that our knowledge is not particularly broad and that our views are quite narrow, and there is a definite gap between our ideological qualities and the needs of modernization. Thus, if we are to really become skilled persons, apart from seriously studying basic knowledge in school and solidly practicing basic skills, we should go down into the practice of production, scientific research and reform, go deep among the masses and from the practice understand society, transform society, understand, enrich, and improve ourselves. Comrade Hu Yaobang has recently pointed out: "Our nation has a population of 1 billion and is now engaged in modernization. Those with academic knowledge are certainly not numerous and are in fact too few. But these people with academic knowledge will only be able to enrich the nation, the people, and the society if they combine their academic knowledge with economic construction, scientific experimentation, the building of a democratic legal system and other social practice, and combine it with the rich practice by which the masses are creating a new life." In the summer vacation this year, I, together with some committee members of the All-China Students Federation, went to the construction site of the Great Huang He Bridge in Henan to participate in labor, as well as to carry out an examination of the educational situation in the Huang He Inundated Area. I came to understand that China's problems are complex, that the road of reform is arduous and that simply by relying on academic knowledge, relying on theory which is divorced from practice and simply copying foreign experiences, will not be of assistance to the invigoration of China. From being university students and research students to being bridges in society, there is an arduous road that has to be traveled--this is the road of practice. Only through practice will we be able to realize the unification of knowledge and abilities and only then will we be able to master the leap from theory to practice and from practice to theory, and form a new type of skilled persons who have both theoretical knowledge and the ability to realize change.

If one is not to be a "pampered child," then one must base oneself on the "poor family's" situation and proceed from facts in everything, in transformation, construction and in making contributions. Many of we students have the lofty aspiration and great ideal of changing the "poor family's" situation. However, we do not know how to do it, or from where we should start. Some students feel that if we are to change the situation, we must do so "through government" and, through mastering and utilizing authority, to realize our own aspirations. They narrowly understand participation in social practice as a mechanism for getting into top organs and want to directly participate in decisionmaking. If their wishes cannot be directly realized, then they complain that the heroes have nowhere to display their talents. I believe that we students have the obligation to concern ourselves with the political life of the state, but because we do not understand everything and we lack the experience of practice, many of our thoughts and propositions are lacking in that they are naive and biased. Without the tempering of a long period of practice it is difficult to make penetrating judgments and put forward proposals which accord with the national conditions. In such a situation, if we blindly seek participation at a high level, not only will we be unable to make a contribution, but we will become stuck in an unrealistic fantasy and in idle talk. In addition, the state needs talented people at many levels and even important national policy decisions are not completely decided by people in the leading organs. They listen to ideas from various sides, including ideas of people working at the grass-roots level and in the production front-line and ideas of specialists in various professions and trades. Thus, understanding the national situation and studying and understanding the various principles and policies of the party are preconditions for us to correctly participate in social life. At the same time, we should adjust our vocational ideals in accordance with the requirements of society. We should not despise ordinary things or disdain starting by doing small things. If we strive hard during our term of study, we will be able to take on definite social obligations and fulfill definite responsibilities.

To avoid being "pampered children" is the heartfelt wish of we young students. In the last few years, many students have gone out from the schools, gone into practice to temper themselves, to feel the pulse of the times, to understand the needs of society and to contribute their youth and abilities to changing the appearance of the "poor family." For example, research students from the Industrial Economics Department of the China People's University went to the Beijing Coal Mining Machinery Factory and provided specialized consultancy for this factory in respect of product management work. Through over 20 days of hard work, they proposed a product management system which had as its core information flow controls and which aimed at putting in order the relationship between materials flow, information flow and value flow, and formulated specific proposals for implementation in various work aspects. Within 3 months of these programs being implemented, 50,000 yuan of economic benefits were obtained. The research students of the Agricultural Chemical Institute under the Central China Normal University, under the guidance of their teachers, went deep into the villages and used their intelligence to revive an agricultural chemical factory in Mianyang County in Hubei Province. They enabled this factory, which had less than 300 workers, to change from

repeated years of losses to year after year of profits and to achieve an annual output value of 10 million yuan and profits of over 1 million yuan. The aqueous amine sulphuric phosphate [shui an liu lin 3055 5143 4288 4340] they developed was highly effective as an insecticide and was well received. The peasants referred to it as "divine water." These students have used their own actions to compose a paean to proclaim that they are not "pampered children."

Our nation is a poor family, and as children who have been doted upon, we must make allowances for the difficulties of a poor family, and share the "mother's" worries. We must study hard, and be hard-working in practice so that we can become useful people as quickly as possible and use our accomplishments to provide verification of this. We will then not be unworthy of our "mother's" fostering and we will not be "pampered children of a poor family" but will be today's "people to be proud of."

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION IS AN IMPORTANT  
CHARACTERISTIC OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 40-41

[Article by Gan Baolu [3729 5508 7216]]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization" points out: "Socialist spiritual civilization guided by Marxism is an important characteristic of a socialist society." Fully understanding the implication of the remark is a prerequisite for having a correct understanding of our socialist society and working for the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

First, Socialist Spiritual Civilization Is the Manifestation of the Essential  
Characteristics of a Socialist Society in Ideology and Culture

In a certain sense, a social formation must have its own economy, politics and ideology, the three supplement each other and form an integrated whole. When talking about characteristics of a socialist society in the past, we used to stress, from the three angles of the economic system, political system and productive forces, elimination of the system of exploitation, public ownership of the means of production, the principle of distribution according to work, the political power of being the masters of the country by the working class and the working people, and the emergence of the productivity which is higher than that in capitalist countries. No doubt, all these are correct. However, a socialist society, as an integrated social formation, should have its own characteristics in ideology and culture, that is socialist spiritual civilization guided by Marxism. In his article "On New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter." "For many years we communists have struggled for a cultural revolution as well as for a political and economic revolution, and our aim is to build a new society and a new state for the Chinese nation. That new society and new state will have not only a new politics and a new economy but a new culture." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 624) Socialist ideology and culture are a requirement and reflection of the socialist economic and political systems, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence on the latter. Having a correct understanding of the important characteristic

will help us strengthen and attach importance to the building of socialist spiritual civilization while working hard for material civilization, make continuous efforts to raise the ideological and ethical standards of the people as well as their educational and scientific levels and kindle the people's enthusiasm for making arduous efforts to build material civilization so that the two civilizations each will shine brilliantly in the other's company.

### Second, Socialist Spiritual Civilization Is an Important Sign Which Distinguishes Other Societies From Socialist Society

Civilization of any society is an integration of material and spiritual civilization. Since human society was lifted out of ignorance and savagery and entered civilized era, there emerged successfully the civilization of slave society, the civilization of feudal society and the civilization of capitalist society. The spiritual civilization of each of the three societies had its own nature and characteristics, which were mainly guided by the ideological system of exploiting classes and worked for the interests of exploiting classes. Through highly expanded production, capitalist society created a spiritual civilization which was much more higher than the previous ones. However, such spiritual civilization has its inevitable limitations because it is based on the capitalist system of exploitation. In capitalist society, all activities of capitalists are aimed at profits. "Greediness and selfishness corrupt all social values." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 415) Being influenced by the decadent capitalist ideology, the relationship between one person and another has become a naked relationship of money. Profit-before-everything mentality, the act of securing personal gain by profiteering, depraved ideology, degenerated morality, high rate of social crimes, and corrupted social values have led up to a serious spiritual crisis. Socialist spiritual civilization guided by Marxism has ushered in a new stage in the development of spiritual civilization of mankind and categorically differentiates itself from spiritual civilization in capitalist society and in societies previous to it. By eliminating class oppression and exploitation, socialist society has paved the way for pushing democracy to a new height and made the fundamental interests of the working people coincide in order to make the people be the real masters of their own destiny. For this reason, it is possible for us to establish and develop a new type of relationship between one person and another marked by unity, mutual assistance and love, to cultivate common ideals, conviction and morality, to foster collectivist ideology among the working people and a sense of being masters of their own affairs, and to render educational, scientific and cultural undertakings serving the masses of the people. With regard to these things, capitalist society and societies previous to it cannot be compared with socialist society. Only by working hard for the building of socialist spiritual civilization will the superiority of socialist society be fully shown.

### Third, Socialist Spiritual Civilization Is a Prerequisite for Transit of Socialism to Communism

Socialism is a historical movement toward the high stage of communism. Our country is now at the initial stage of socialism and will finally develop

into communist society. In the course of development, in building socialist spiritual civilization, the basic task is to help people to become well educated and self-disciplined socialist citizens with lofty ideals and moral integrity, and to raise the ideological and ethical standards of the whole nation as well as its educational and scientific levels--all in the interest of socialist modernization. This is also a prerequisite for building our country into a socialist modernized power and moving it toward communism. Only by promoting the building of socialist spiritual civilization will we be able to enhance people's political consciousness in their ideological, moral and cultural levels, and their consciousness of safeguarding and developing the socialist system, and spark their initiative, enthusiasm, creativity and spirit of sacrifice for socialist modernization. At the same time, only by promoting the building of socialist spiritual civilization will we be able to help people resist and correct on their own accord different types of erroneous ideas which are detrimental to socialist modernization. Building our country into a modernized socialist power needs the efforts of several generations, and developing the initial stage of socialism into its high stage, needs, all the more, the efforts of several generations. Therefore, only by making continuous efforts to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization will we be able to create favorable conditions for developing socialism into communism.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT THE BUILDING OF SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION IS A MATTER OF GREAT IMPORTANCE WHICH HAS A BEARING ON THE RISE AND DECLINE OF SOCIALISM?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 41-43

[Article by Zhao Guangwu [6392 0342 2879]]

[Text] Socialist spiritual civilization with Marxism as guidance is an important characteristic of socialist society. It has a direct bearing on the nature, fate, and future of development of the socialist system as well as the rise and decline of socialism.

Only by strengthening socialist spiritual civilization will it be possible to guarantee a correct direction for socialist economic development. As an important essence of the superstructure, socialist spiritual civilization has great impact on the development of social productive forces and social economy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the work focus of our party and state has been on carrying out socialist modernization with economic construction as the key, and on developing social productive forces in a big way. We have scored pleasing accomplishments in a few years. The development of material civilization will create favorable conditions for the development of spiritual civilization. However, spiritual civilization will not naturally develop with the development of material civilization. We should not neglect the building of socialist spiritual civilization just because our key task is economic construction. We should note that in recent years some localities and units have relaxed ideological and political work, paying no attention to socialist spiritual civilization while strengthening economic construction. As a result, some phenomena of deviating from the direction of socialist management have emerged, for example, violation of financial and economic discipline, lack of seriousness in implementing the national plan, and such malpractices as benefiting oneself at the expense of others, seeking private gain at public expense, regarding money as everything, and abuse of power. All this has gravely affected and injured the development of socialist economy. Practice has proved that if they neglect the building of socialist spiritual civilization, people will become one-sided in their understanding of socialism, focus their attention on the pursuit of material interests, and will even be led astray. Socialist spiritual civilization is the demand of the socialist system and our basic economic policy, as well as the guarantee of a smooth development. In modernization, it is necessary to strengthen the building of socialist

spiritual civilization if we want to guarantee our socialist economy's advance along the socialist track.

Only by strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization will it be possible to effectively resist decadent bourgeois and feudal ideas. Our socialism is derived from the semicolonial and semifeudal old China. The left-over efforts of the old society are inevitable. Under the new historical conditions in China, not only do decadent feudal ideas remain, which affect people's ideology, but decadent bourgeois ideas and moral concepts will corrupt people along with the deepening development of reform and opening up to the world, when our ties with all countries in the world, including the developed capitalist countries, are increasing daily. At present, some people blindly worship capitalism, believe everything capitalist is good, and advocate bourgeois liberalization. Others believe that "money is omnipotent," and have gone in for criminal activities with money and women as a lure. Still others have lost their national dignity and their own personality in external activities. All this has nothing in common with China's socialist system; they have gravely corrupted people's ideology, and injured the socialist system. Only by strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization in a big way, and upgrading people's ideological and moral consciousness as well as their level of science and culture, will it be possible to form a public opinion, value concept, cultural conditions, and social environment which are favorable to reform, opening up, and the development of socialist commodity economy. Only then will it be possible to foster people's ability to distinguish and to resist the effects of bourgeois and feudal decadent ideas, so that they may go in for the building of socialist spiritual civilization in a healthy, vigorous, and progressive spiritual state.

The self-perfection and development of the socialist system is possible only when the building of socialist spiritual civilization is strengthened. True, the socialist system is the best social system in the history of mankind, and has its tremendous strong points, but China is still in the primary stage of socialism at present; and the socialist system needs to be continuously made complete and perfect, and developed. We should reform and make complete and perfect the leadership system of the party and state as well as the socialist legal system, further expand socialist democracy, fully guarantee the legal rights and interests of the people, and take sanctions against and crack down on all illegal conducts injuring society. It is necessary for us to resolutely push forward the economic structural reform, to consciously apply the law of value, to develop socialist commodity economy, and to build a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics full of vigor and vitality. Only by fostering the building of socialist spiritual civilization, focusing our attention on construction and promoting the development of social productive forces, and upgrading the national pride, confidence, and self-esteem of the people, will it be possible to enlighten people's thinking, to help them overcome their ossified and isolationist ideas, and blindly rejecting anything foreign, to promote the renovation of their concepts, and to actively push forward the self-perfection and development of the socialist system.

The upgrading of the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation and the bringing up of a new generation are possible only by strengthening socialist spiritual civilization. An important essence of the building of socialist spiritual civilization is to spread and to upgrade the level of education, science and culture, to bring up one generation after another of socialist citizens who have lofty ideals, moral integrity, cultural accomplishments, and discipline, and to upgrade the ideological and moral qualities as well as the scientific and cultural qualities of the entire Chinese nation. This is an important condition for the building of material civilization, as well as the ideological and cultural basis for consolidating the socialist system. Although China has attained advanced world levels in some respects, we are still rather backward in education, science, and culture on the whole; a certain proportion of the population of China is still illiterate and semi-illiterate. In a country that is backward in education, that has little knowledge in science and technology, and a large proportion of illiteracy, not only is modernization impossible, but the consolidation of the socialist system itself will be very difficult. Only by fostering the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and actively developing education, science and culture, will it be possible to rapidly upgrade the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation, so that more and more people may establish firm communist ideals and lofty moral concepts, and continuously provide spiritual motive force and brain-power support to the development of material civilization.

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## WHY MUST THE BUILDING OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION PROMOTE REFORM AND OPENING UP?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 43-44

[Article by Zhang Bingyuan [4545 3521 0337]]

[Text] Reform, opening up, and the building of socialist spiritual civilization are all organic component parts of our socialist modernization construction as a whole, and they support and promote each other. The building of socialist spiritual civilization must promote all-round reform and opening up to the outside world for the following reasons:

First, only by promoting reform and opening up can our socialist spiritual civilization be suited to the needs of the modernization process. Reform and opening up are our basic national policies and they constitute a road that we must take in order to build our country into a modern socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. This is a scientific conclusion we have drawn from our positive and negative experience in the past 30 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic. Although we have made great achievements in this period, the development of productive forces and technology, as well as the people's material and cultural lives, remain at a low level as compared with some economically developed countries due to the influence of the "leftist" ideology and the defects in our economic and political systems and due to our long-standing national seclusion. To change this state of affairs and to speed up the pace of our socialist modernization construction, we must reform in an all-round way the old management system which was excessively centralized and was not favorable to the development of social productive forces and must open up to the outside world; otherwise, we will have no future. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping sharply pointed out: "If we do not begin the reforms now, our modernization cause and socialist cause will all fall through." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 140) Therefore, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to shift the focus of the party's work to economic construction and emphasized the necessity of reforming the economic management system and developing economic cooperation with various countries in the world. The party's 12th National Congress more clearly decided to firmly carry out the task of opening to the outside world, and pointed out that this is an important guarantee for us to adhere to the socialist road and to realize socialist modernization. Over the past 5 to 6 years since we began to carry out the opening up policy, we have achieved marked results in



enlivening the economy, developing production, and raising the level of the people's material and cultural lives. This fully demonstrates the correctness and effectiveness of the reform and opening up policy. Therefore, to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, we must carry forward this basic national policy and continue to make great efforts to promote all-round reform and opening up. Only thus can we speed up the pace of our socialist modernization construction and build our country into a modern socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy.

Second, only by promoting reform and opening up can socialist spiritual civilization be based on a solid and rapidly developing material civilization foundation. The development of spiritual civilization not only needs the guidance of correct ideology and depends on the nature of relations of production in society, but is also conditioned by the state of material production and material civilization and the practical experience in developing material production and material civilization. Slow production development and a weak economic foundation will inevitably limit the development of educational, scientific, and cultural undertakings and adversely affect the enhancement of people's morals and social values. Therefore, the development of spiritual civilization, in the final analysis, cannot be separated from the basic element of material production. Only by promoting reform and opening up, speeding up the development of the socialist commodity economy, and greatly increasing material production will we be able to run and expand various educational, scientific, cultural, art, literary, journalistic, publishing, broadcast, television, public health and sports undertakings, including libraries and museums of all kinds, on a large scale so as to provide good material conditions for developing culture and enriching people's cultural lives.

Third, only by promoting reform and opening up can we create favorable ideological and cultural conditions for the development of spiritual civilization. For a long time in the past, due to the "leftist" ideology and the small production mentality, we looked down on knowledge and neglected the cultivation of knowledgeable people. This caused the backwardness of our education, science, and culture and the serious shortage of skilled manpower. This state of affairs not only affected economic development, but also obstructed the enhancement of spiritual civilization. In recent years, with the adoption of reform and the opening up policy, people have realized the importance of knowledge and knowledgeable people. Huge enthusiasm for seeking knowledge and receiving better education has emerged among the people. There is a mass trend to studying modern scientific and cultural knowledge. Knowledge and intellectuals are respected, and all trades set great store by educated people. This new situation has promoted the development of education, science, and culture. Reform and opening up have helped people further emancipate their minds and change their mentalities, and have had great impact on residual feudal ideology and the force of habit and backward ideas brought about by the natural economy and small production. Some outmoded concepts formed under the ossified old economic systems and some erroneous viewpoints formed under the influence of "leftist" ideology, such as that becoming rich together is egalitarianism and that the "big pot" system represents socialism, have been gradually corrected. A series of new

concepts, such as pioneering, innovation, competition, enterprising spirit, efficiency, skilled manpower, value, and information, have been adopted. New leaps forward in people's minds and thinking have been taken. Through opening up to the outside world and through scientific, technological, thought, cultural, and art exchanges with other countries, our vision will be further broadened, and we will be able to have better knowledge about new developments in modern science and technology, gain more information about new things in the political, economic, military, thought, and theoretical fields in the world, and thus better apply Marxism to make comparisons, studies, explorations, and selections so as to absorb all useful and positive things and all achievements in human civilization. We will then raise our socialist spiritual civilization to a higher level on the basis of continuously assimilating the achievements of all mankind's civilization. All this shows that by going all out to promote reform and opening up, we will create favorable ideological and cultural conditions for developing and strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

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## WHY MUST THE FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES BE ADHERED TO IN BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 pp 44-45

[Article by Hu Qingyu [5170 7230 6877]]

[Text] The four basic principles constitute the foundation for building our country. They specify the character orientation of our entire modernization process, including the building of spiritual civilization. In a certain sense, the four basic principles are not only an important part of our socialist spiritual civilization, but they also provide a fundamental guarantee for the smooth and healthy development of such spiritual civilization.

Marxism is a crystallization of all human knowledge and the greatest achievement of human civilization. It is the soul of the socialist spiritual civilization that we are building. Within the scope of spiritual civilization, education, science, and culture are spiritual civilization inputs from all kinds of societies, but the Marxist ideological system is the exclusive characteristic of socialist spiritual civilization and is the fundamental sign which distinguishes socialist spiritual civilization from spiritual civilization under other social systems. In building socialist spiritual civilization, we not only need the guidance of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought in guaranteeing the development orientation of political ideology and ethics. We also need guidance in developing education, science, and culture along the socialist course. At the same time, only under the guidance of Marxism can we gradually deepen our understanding of the regularity of spiritual civilization development, correctly coordinate relations between all fields in the building of spiritual civilization, promptly solve new problems in construction, and ensure that spiritual civilization and material civilization will support and promote each other and will develop together. Without the guidance of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, we will not be able to build spiritual civilization, and may even take to evil ways. In order to maintain the correct orientation in building spiritual civilization, to ensure socialist modernization construction and all-round reform, and to prevent us from losing our bearings, we must adhere to Marxist guidance.

The leadership of the CPC is a fundamental guarantee of success in our socialist construction, and for the maintenance of correct orientation in

our socialist spiritual civilization. In the course of building spiritual civilization, the party upholds the common ideals of the peoples of all nationalities in the present stage to mobilize and unite the peoples of all nationalities in striving for the realization of these common ideals with one heart and one mind. At the same time, the party educates the people and helps them establish and develop socialist morals and values, and build new socialist human relations based on equality, unity, and mutual aid; conducts education in strengthening democracy, the legal system, and discipline among the people; and popularizes education, science, and culture among the people. Without correct CPC leadership, it will not be possible to: guarantee correct orientation in building spiritual civilization; handle and solve various complicated issues in construction correctly; and effectively mobilize and organize the peoples of all nationalities, all trades, and all social strata. Neither will it be possible to ensure the healthy development of spiritual civilization.

In any society, spiritual civilization must depend on the nature of the social system and the level of material civilization. So, the nature of the socialist system determines the character of socialist spiritual civilization. Basic socialist economic policy embodies the character of the socialist system in the economic life and, at the same time, also has important influence on the material foundation of socialist spiritual civilization. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party central leadership has been carrying out the policy of conducting all-round reform and opening up to the outside world under the premise of adhering to the socialist road. This has further emancipated people's minds, broadened people's vision, and gradually broken through the shackles of some ossified and outmoded ideas. It has also developed the socialist commodity economy and raised the people's living standards. All this has laid a good foundation for the development of socialist spiritual civilization. This fully shows that consolidation of the socialist system and improvement of basic socialist economic policy not only plays an important role in developing material civilization, but also lays a solid foundation for the development of socialist spiritual civilization. Admittedly, with the adoption of the policy for all-round reform and opening up, some decadent parts of capitalist ideology and culture may make inroads into our country and corrode some people whose willpower is weak and who lack experience. This may produce negative influences on the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Bourgeois liberalization is the reflection of such decadence in the ideological and political fields. Only by adhering to the socialist system can we guarantee the smooth development of spiritual civilization on the basis of socialism.

The people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist legal system are important means of promoting socialist spiritual civilization. On the one hand they guarantee the working people, who account for an overwhelming majority of the population, their position as master. On the other hand, they suppress a very small number of hostile elements who violate law and discipline and sabotage socialism. This ensures a stable, orderly, and harmonious environment for the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has

made great efforts to perfect socialist democracy and the legal system. An important purpose in doing this is to fully arouse the people's initiative and creativity, and to better ensure the people's master role and power, so that they will work for the modernization cause with one heart and one mind. Along with the adoption of the reform and opening up policy, and the development of the socialist commodity economy, some evil practices have reappeared. For example, some people take advantage of reforms to engage in speculation, bribery, smuggling, extortion, tax evasion and fraud to profiteer. Others even produce false medicines and alcoholic drinks, exhibit and sell pornographic video products, publish unhealthy books and tabloids, abduct and sell women, and practice prostitution. It is all the more necessary to give full play to the powerful role of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist legal system. The relevant regulations and laws must be resolutely and seriously enforced so as to guarantee healthy development in the building of spiritual civilization.

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CSO: 4004/8

RED FLAG HOLDS MEETING OF LIAISON MEN TO DISCUSS COMPREHENSIVE AND ACCURATE  
PROPAGANDA ON THE RESOLUTION BY THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 p 46

[Report by RED FLAG reporter]

[Text] The 1986 meeting of RED FLAG magazine liaison men took place from 22 to 26 October in Jinan city, Shandong Province. Present at the meeting were liaison men and assistant liaison men from the various provinces, autonomous regions, directly subordinate municipalities and the cities of Zhongqing, Wuhan, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and from the General Political Department of the PLA plus the constituent members of RED FLAG's Editorial Committee and responsible persons from the editing office.

Comrade Lu Maozeng, assistant secretary of Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, spoke at the meeting. He said: RED FLAG magazine's calling the meeting of liaison men in Jinan city in our province, to discuss the propaganda problem for construction of socialist spiritual civilization, will produce positive effects on promoting our province's study and implementation of the resolution by the Sixth Plenary Session. He further said: RED FLAG magazine is a theoretical magazine published by the party Central Committee, occupying an important front in our party's ideological and theoretical work. Performing a good job in publishing RED FLAG magazine and bringing into full play the magazine's role on the ideological and theoretical fronts constitute tasks for the whole party, and party organs at various levels all bear an unshirkable duty. After this meeting, we must sum up experiences, further organize the vast number of party members, cadres, and the masses to study and use well RED FLAG magazine, and continuously elevate the ideological consciousness and theoretical level so as to meet the demands of the developing situation. At the same time, it is necessary to strive hard: to provide material and reflect the conditions well; to organizing publication work and put the readers first; to produce high-quality articles making the necessary contributions so that the whole party performs a good job of publishing RED FLAG magazine.

Comrade Wang Renzhi, assistant chief-editor of RED FLAG magazine, also spoke at the meeting, representing the Editorial Committee. First of all he recalled RED FLAG magazine's work in the past year, in accordance with the spirit of the CPC National Congress and the Fourth Plenary Session of the

Sixth NPC, of carrying out propaganda on: the situation and policy; on insisting on reform and opening to the outside world; on the Seventh 5-Year Plan; on strengthening the construction of socialist spiritual civilization; and on studying Marxist theories. Following this, he dwelt on several problems concerning the all-round and correct understanding of the "Decision by the CPC Central Committee on the Guidelines for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization": 1) The direction manifested in the "Decision" is a firm insistence on the four basic principles; firmly insisting on the reform and opening to the outside form the key link in understanding the spirit of the "Decision." 2) The "Decision" manifests the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and at the same time, based on actual practices in recent years and summing up new experiences, clearly and specifically answers and solves a series of basic problems on construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. 3) Regarding the various phases in constructing a socialist spiritual civilization, the "Decision" starts from our country's realities in the current stage and makes different demands on different objects. It differentiates between demands of a popular nature and those of an advanced nature but joins them together and differentiates between demands of a general nature and those of a higher caliber and joins them together. It is thus capable of joining together and leading people of different degrees of consciousness to rise, and uniting all the forces that can be united to jointly build socialism with Chinese characteristics. 4) In discussing all the problems, the "Decision" fully manifests the ideological line of seeking reality from facts and carries through the dialectical thinking of looking at problems from all sides. In the year from now, RED FLAG magazine will: strive to grasp and firmly insist on the four basic principles; insist on the direction of the reform and opening to the outside; devote its efforts to wholly and accurately propagating and carrying out the "Decision," and to propagandize on the economic construction guideline; economic structure reform, and reform of the political structure; and strive to publish more articles which give good systematic guidance, are truly convincing, and touch on theoretical and ideological problems of important significance.

Comrade Wang Renzhi talked emphatically about the problem in editorial work of further promoting bold searching and free discussions on the basis of scientific research. He said: Our economic and political structure reform, and our construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics are creative new undertakings that are extremely complex in nature. They require continuous trials, creativity, encouragement, and bold searching with scientific research as the basis. This search includes both practice and searching under the guidance of Marxist theories and theoretical searching. Without searching through actual practice, we have no way to open up and advance; without the guidance of theory, searching through actual practice may miss its direction. Our magazine must stand at the forefront of the reforms. We must accurately propagate the party's guidelines and policies, and must actively promote theoretical searching on the reforms. Regarding the theoretical study of actual practice and the reforms, in reality it is studying and discussing how Marxism has developed in China. In order to facilitate the development of meaningful theoretical discussions, we must have a stable and united environment and a democratic and harmonious atmosphere. RED FLAG has opened up a special column for "theoretical discussions," to provide



grounds for theoretical workers and actual workers to discuss scholastic and theoretical problems. We hope that on certain problems of important significance, comrades with different views will express their own understanding, compare with each other, enlighten each other and proceed to discuss and debate with each other so as to find the truth.

The comrades attending the meeting carried out discussions on the themes of earnestly studying and implementing the "Decision," performing well the work of theoretical research and theoretical propaganda, and on the main topic of further bringing into full play the role of RED FLAG in building the two civilizations. They exchanged their experiences in the building of socialist spiritual civilization and theoretical propaganda and also exchanged their views on the relevant theoretical problems. The meeting approved the commendations for 72 superior first-class readers.

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## PAYING ATTENTION TO 'CRISES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 p 47

[Article by Lei Ke [7191 0344]]

[Text] After our team suffered a defeat in the table-tennis team event in this year's Asian Games, it seemed that the word "crisis" was appearing more than it was previously. Not long after, in the 8th Asian table-tennis teams event, our nation's men's and women's teams again defeated their opponents and took the victory laurels. At the moment of victory, the chief coach, Xu Shaofa, soberly realized that our nation's table-tennis still faced a "serious challenge." As a layman, it seems to me that the experts are already paying the "table-tennis crisis" serious attention. This is not a bad thing.

The term "crisis" on first hearing is a little frightening. In fact, according to the dictionary's explanation, "crisis" is a dangerous cause of trouble or a critical juncture of difficulties, and there is nothing spectacular about it. When we have taken this word into social life, regardless of whether it is an open or concealed "crisis," then it cannot be borne without eight poles. This not only occurs in minor areas. There often appear economic crises and crises of war, and people are regularly talking about energy crises and ecological crises.... In our nation, in the undertakings we engage in, are not there various sorts of crisis, either casting a shadow or shrouding everything in clouds! The development of things cannot always be smooth. Even when development is smooth and there are triumphant advances, if one gets hot-headed, forgets oneself, is not careful and not vigilant and does not adjust actions to circumstances, it is possible it will lead to great mistakes or induce various crises. It should be said that there have been many deep-going lessons learned on this point.

The problem lies in the fact that in the past we had a one-sided understanding of the term "crisis." We could only say about ourselves that "the road has twists and turns." We could not speak of a "crisis." As time went by, it was as if this became a special reference term only for other worlds. It had nothing to do with us. This was especially so under "leftist" mistaken ideological guidance, when we would tunelessly say "the situation is very good." Even during the "Cultural Revolution," when the national economy was "on the verge of collapse," and it should have been considered a crisis, we could

still shout at the top of our voices "everything is fine, everything is fine." The great damage of the degree of danger thereby brought to the state and the people has been seen by all and there is no need to speak further of it.

The present proposal of seek-truth-from-facts is a basic change from the above-mentioned erroneous tendency. However, in actual work and life, there are still those who do their utmost to evade the issues and do not know that there is still a "crisis." As far as people paying attention to party style are concerned, there are people who are insufficiently aware of the danger of unhealthy styles or treat the matter very lightly. How can we then eliminate them completely! But there are some who speak freely. When Comrade Huang Kecheng was visited by a secretary, he clearly pointed out: "There is a crisis concealed within the party, there is no concern for the masses, only concern for one's own circle, one's own small group, oneself, one's family and one's relatives. This is not a communist party. It is capitalism, feudalism, and individualism. It is not communism or socialism! It is the pursuit of private benefit by individuals. Revolution does not come into it." How impassioned and forceful these words are! The question of party style is, in the end, a question of the relationship between the party and the people. When the party's style is not correct, when personal power is used to pursue private gain, when there is serious bureaucratism and when the party is divorced from the masses, it is like a fish being out of water. How can this be other than a major life-and-death question? Using the term "crisis" to describe it in order to rouse the deaf and awaken the unhearing and have people startled enough to raise a sweat, will cause more people to give more serious thought to this problem and have them take extremely earnest actions to resolve this problem. Has not Comrade Huang Kecheng done very well in bringing this "crisis" to our attention!

Of course, when we say that we should pay attention to "crisis," it certainly does not refer to saying frightening things just to raise an alarm, being pessimistic and disheartened or painting a dark picture of everything so that people feel that "there are crises on four sides," and are frightened all day. Rather, the people of today should have a consciousness of crisis and a little sense of crisis. It is often said that if people do not have a long-term view then they will certainly have short-term worries. It is many times better to think of more complex problems and to consider the factors for failure and defeat than being short-sighted and being intoxicated with self-satisfaction. Further, this is not only for preparing for danger in times of peace, but more for increasing one's foresight and overall abilities in considering problems. Mr Lu Xun put it very penetratingly when he said: "Danger? Danger causes people to be keyed up and being keyed up allows people to feel their own life-force. Wandering along in danger is a very good thing." Thus, I hope we will pay attention to "crises."

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A SONG OF PRAISE EXPRESSING DEEP AFFECTION--READING THE REPORTAGE 'MANY STUDENTS REMEMBER HER--THAT IS WHAT IS MOST VALUABLE'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 p 48

[Article by Liu Yahu [0491 0068 3275]; "Many Students Remember Her--That Is What Is Most Valuable" was carried in MINZU WENXUE No 2, 1986]

[Text] In the early hours of a summer day in the mid-1980's, a welcoming group of 50 to 60 people waited at the Huhehot railway station. Among the group were leaders from the city's party committee and government, well-known scholars, professors. Who was coming off the train? People made all sorts of guesses, but they did not guess that the person to appear among the fervent and enthusiastic shouts was to be a white-haired middle school lady teacher... The beginning of the reportage "Many Students Remember Her--That Is What Is Most Valuable" by Zhao Zhenglin [6392 2973 2651] of the Man nationality, takes the reader into a very emotional and touching scene.

The main character in the work Hu Yefen is an ordinary person, but is also an unordinary person. She was born into an exceptional mathematical family. Her father Hu Junji was a famous mathematician who trained outstandingly talented persons like Jiang Zehan. In 1935 when she graduated from the physics department of Beijing University, several roads were open to her and this made her the envy of others. She could go to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States to pursue advanced studies; she could go to a scientific research organ to work; she could go to Beijing University, Qinghua University or other top-line schools to teach.... However she resolutely decided on an ordinary job--she went to what was at that time the Mongolian and Tibetan School (now attached to the Central Institute of Nationalities) to work as a teacher. She struggled for half a century for the cause of education for minorities in a devoted and unswerving way and made extraordinary contributions. The work reflects the clashes of the ordinary and the extraordinary in the main character and the profound brilliance of ideas which burst forth from these clashes.

From the 1930's to the 1980's a lot of time passed and the main character realized many achievements. The author, trying a different approach, only aims her lens at various moving scenes when Teacher Hu goes to keep her appointment in Inner Mongolia in her later years. He also focuses in on several of her students from those years and then through associating their

memories, linked through emotions, and the use of the method of film editing and rearrangement, he has the various times from years gone by flash past in frames, one after the other. Through these frames, the reader is able to feel her passion for her cause, the love she has given to all her students, and the pain and loneliness which she has been left. She welcomed batch after batch of children from Inner Mongolia, from Xizang, from the northeast and from the northwest. She took batch after batch of children and turned them into adults. Like a mother, she cared for these children who were far from their homes. She washed their hair and tied their pants and she taught them diligently. She was happy to be busy and achieved much in this way. As seasons came and went and the years slipped by, she suddenly discovered that she had not been able to worry about her own love and had not had enough time to set up her own small family. She had not made contributions like Qian Sanqiang and other classmates and schoolmates, but she had trained batch after batch of minority specialists, scholars and cadres. These people are now influencing the history of their nationalities. Her intelligence has, in various forms, been carried on in the brains of these people, and her life has been carried on in their actions. The value of her life has been raised to a higher level by their achievements!

Teacher Hu gave her emotions and her love to the children, and the children of those years have given back to her their equally warm hearts. Readers of this book are unlikely to forget the scenes which touch one to the bottom of the heart: Yin Jianwen comes to Beijing from another place in order to get treatment for his paralyzed legs, and goes to see Teacher Hu while sitting in his wheelchair. Wu Zhenzhong who lived at the capital went to Teacher Hu's place every week to fulfill the obligations of a student (no, of a son). Before every winter, he would put up Teacher Hu in his own house, warm up the house and have his wife and children keep his teacher company through the cold days. Everyone when they greet her at yurts in Mongolia or at the nationalities school at the big welcome meeting presented Teacher Hu with white silk hada, presented her with fragrant fermented milk, presented her with their own songs and presented her with their kind feelings: "Teacher Hu has no children, but we are all your children." On that day: "Deep into the night and even into dreamland, the talk went on and on and there was song after song.... This mood which she had not experienced before made Teacher Hu long feel greatly moved...." Oh, what can be more valuable than having one's cause understood and respected by people?

The reportage "Many Students Remember Her--That Is What Is Most Valuable" is a good work worth reading. It does not have a convoluted plot and does not have any profound philosophy. However, it is full of emotion and this makes it moving. This emotion is the emotion between teachers and students, the emotion between mothers and children, the emotion of nationalities.... It is a song of praise expressing deep affection for the people's teacher. It is a cup of fragrant fermented milk which carries one away, intoxicates the heart and allows one to feel the noble place which teachers have in the hearts of the people. Today, as we need to even more raise the spiritual qualities of the Chinese nation, it will inspire and encourage more people to give their youth to the cause of educating the people.

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READING WITH DELIGHT A GENERAL SURVEY OF FOSHAN--INTRODUCING 'A TRIP TO FOSHAN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 86 inside back cover

[Article by Yu Bing [0151 0365]]

[Text] Situated in the Zhujiang Delta, Foshan city, together with its subordinate counties (cities) of Nanhai, Shunde, Zhongshan, Sanshui, and Gaoming, has through reform and opening up achieved a number of new achievements which have attracted people's attention. "A Trip to Foshan," one of the "Series on Chinese Urban Reform" and which has been jointly edited by RED FLAG magazine and Foshan city and is published by Hongqi Chubanshe Publishing House can help people to understand the new situation of changes in Foshan.

Throughout the nation there have been quite a few publications which have provided introductions to Foshan, but "A Trip to Foshan" provides the most complete, concrete and vivid introduction to Foshan's situation to date. The book runs to over 300 pages and is divided into 11 parts. Not only a book of excellent contents, it is a multicolored art book of some scale. After going through Foshan's history, it fully and accurately introduces the development of Foshan's economy on the basis of its trade, industry and agriculture production structure, and the implementation of the reforms and the opening up whereby the city's economy changed from being internally-oriented to being externally-oriented; through improving technology and through large-scale, planned technological transformation, it has improved industrial quality and brought a large number of superior quality products onto the domestic and foreign markets. On the basis of the production responsibility system, it has carried out the second stage of rural reform, resulting in an increased commodity rate in agricultural production; it has put great efforts into developing communications, and realized a network linking it both internally and externally; it has established a circulation network which is open, multi-channel, has few links, connects the urban and rural areas and which is linked together laterally and vertically; further, there is constantly new construction in the city and its suburbs, health undertakings are flourishing, the level of the masses' material and cultural lives has obviously improved and tourism is developing swiftly. This leaves one with vivid impressions.

A characteristic of "A Trip to Foshan" is that it simultaneously provides news, historical materials and experiences. Thus, when one reads it one feels a liveliness, a vigor and a fascination. Here we cannot but express our thanks to the editors for their diligence and efforts. Not only have they put a great amount of time into selecting the illustrations, but have put great efforts into the text as well. The text of "A Trip to Foshan" is succinct and fine and in the different sections, different styles are employed. In the introduction to the historical culture, in 300-plus characters they step into thousands of years of history and with one climax following another, they provide much food for thought. In introducing the city's construction, they cleverly combine the present situation and the experiences and in this they are both concise and comprehensive. When introducing the sights and tours, they speak of scenery, feelings in the villages and the feelings of friendship and merge these together into what is like a fresh new prose poem. The artistic binding and layout of "A Trip to Foshan" also have their own originality. The editors have used calligraphy and seal characters in just the right way in the titles and fillers, so at the same time as the book brims with the flavor of the times, it still has a strong national style. The size of illustrations and their spacing show both skill and thought. It makes the book lively and rich in a sense of rhythm. In trying a new approach for a picture album, it also contains a silk scroll painting "Industrial and Commercial Map of the Ancient Town of Foshan." This was painted especially for this book by several Foshan painters at the request of the editors. The original is 3.6 meters long by 0.6 meters high. It is meticulously done and is truly spectacular. It makes the readers able "through the scroll showing industry and commerce in the ancient town to recreate a picture of the new city," that Foshan is inheriting the past and ushering in the future and that it is overflowing with interest and charm.

In the early part of the 1960's when Comrade Chen Yi went to visit Foshan, he wrote: "Touring Foshan is like sitting in a spring breeze." On reading "A Trip to Foshan" today, people will feel the spring breeze is even more pleasant. No matter whether one has already been to Foshan or has never been but wishes to understand something about it, by reading "A Trip to Foshan" one will have both an enjoyable treat and will find artistic contentment.

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